

Chapter 4. "Changing Party Systems, Socio-economic Cleavages and Nationalism in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, 1956-2017"

Clara MARTÍNEZ-TOLEDANO and Alice SODANO
Appendix A: Norway figures, tables and raw results

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Appendix Figures - Structure of the vote for specific parties

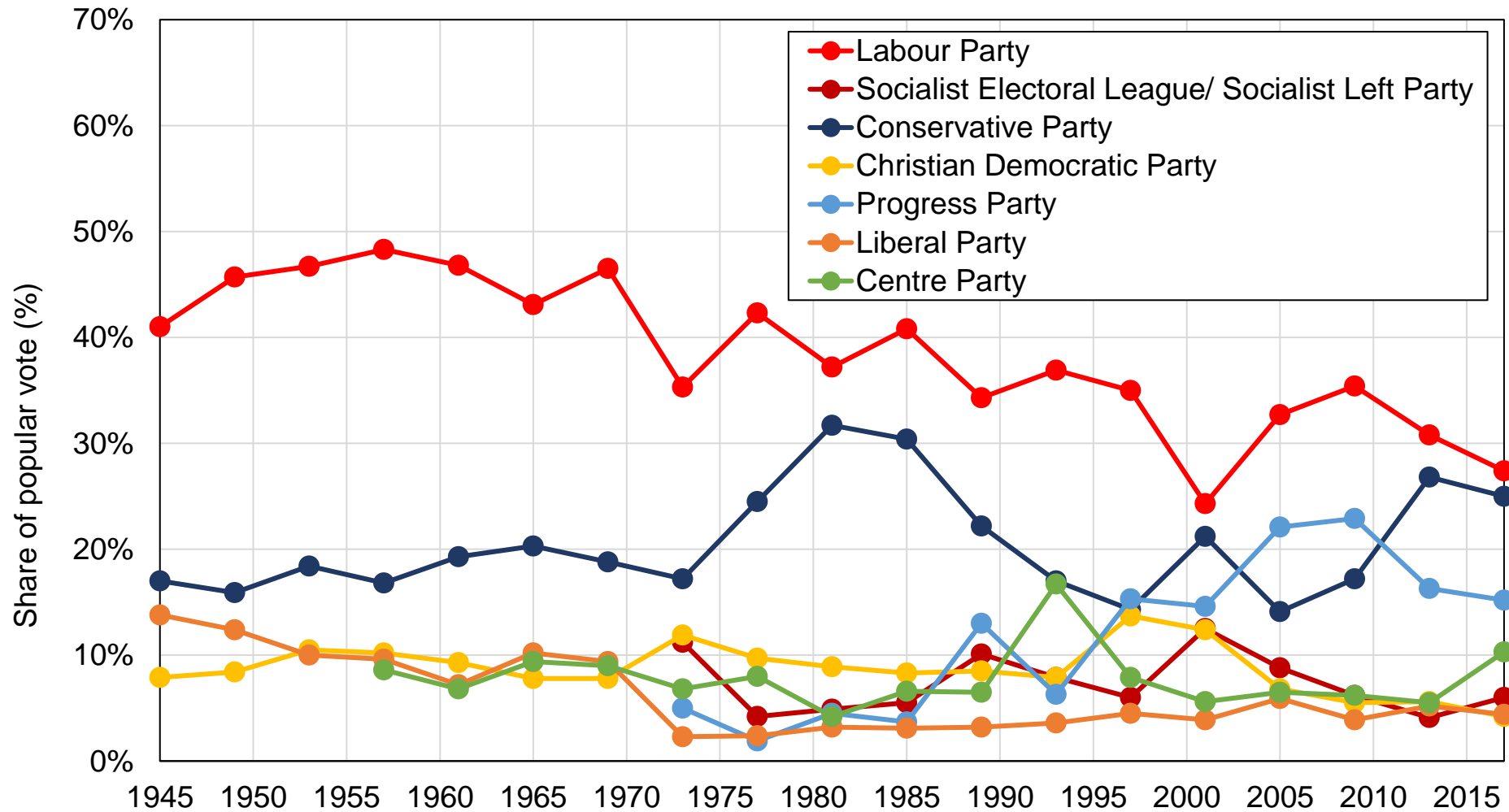
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Appendix Tables

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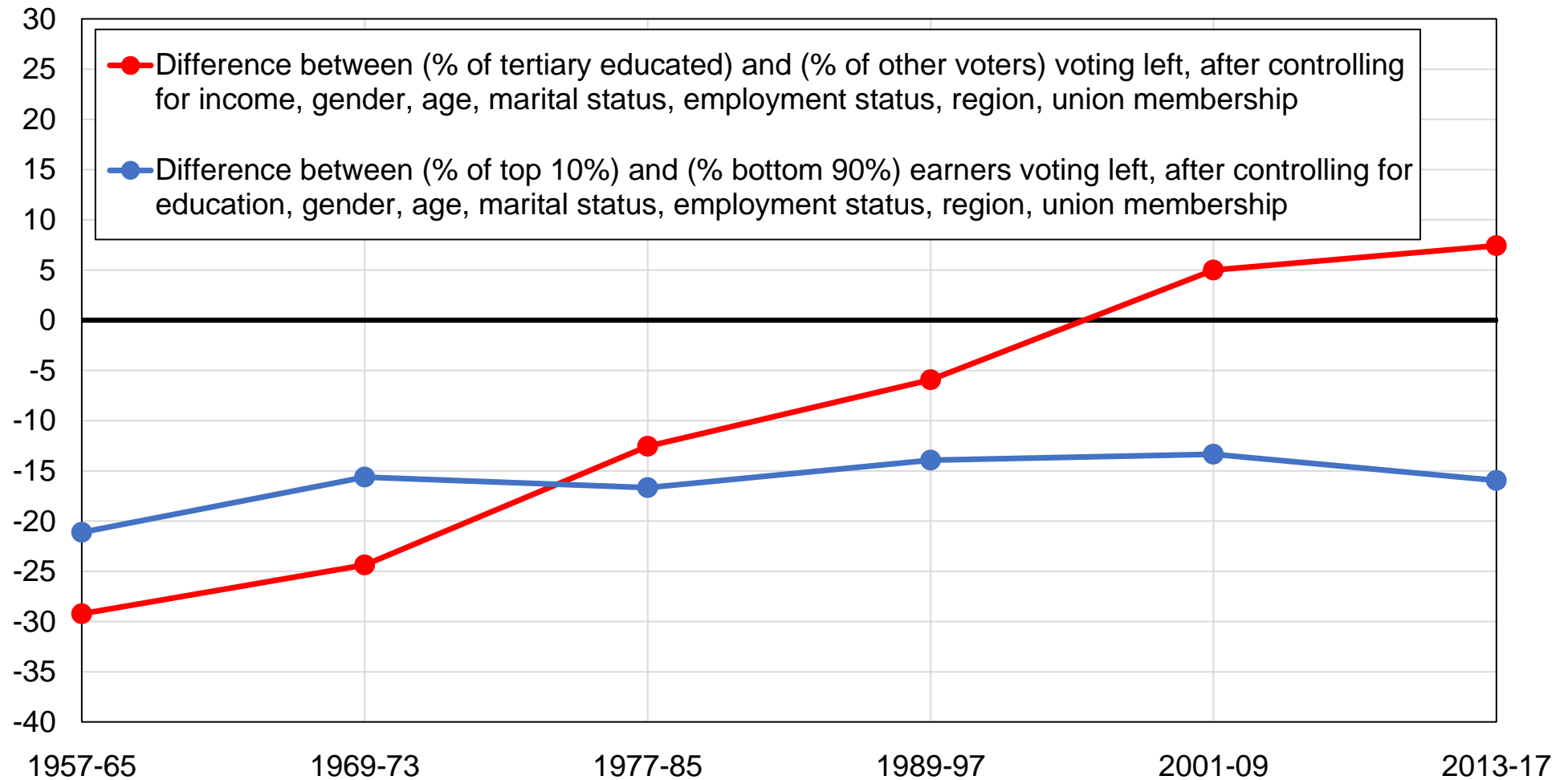
Figure A1 - Election results in Norway, 1945-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Norwegian political parties in general elections between 1945 and 2017.

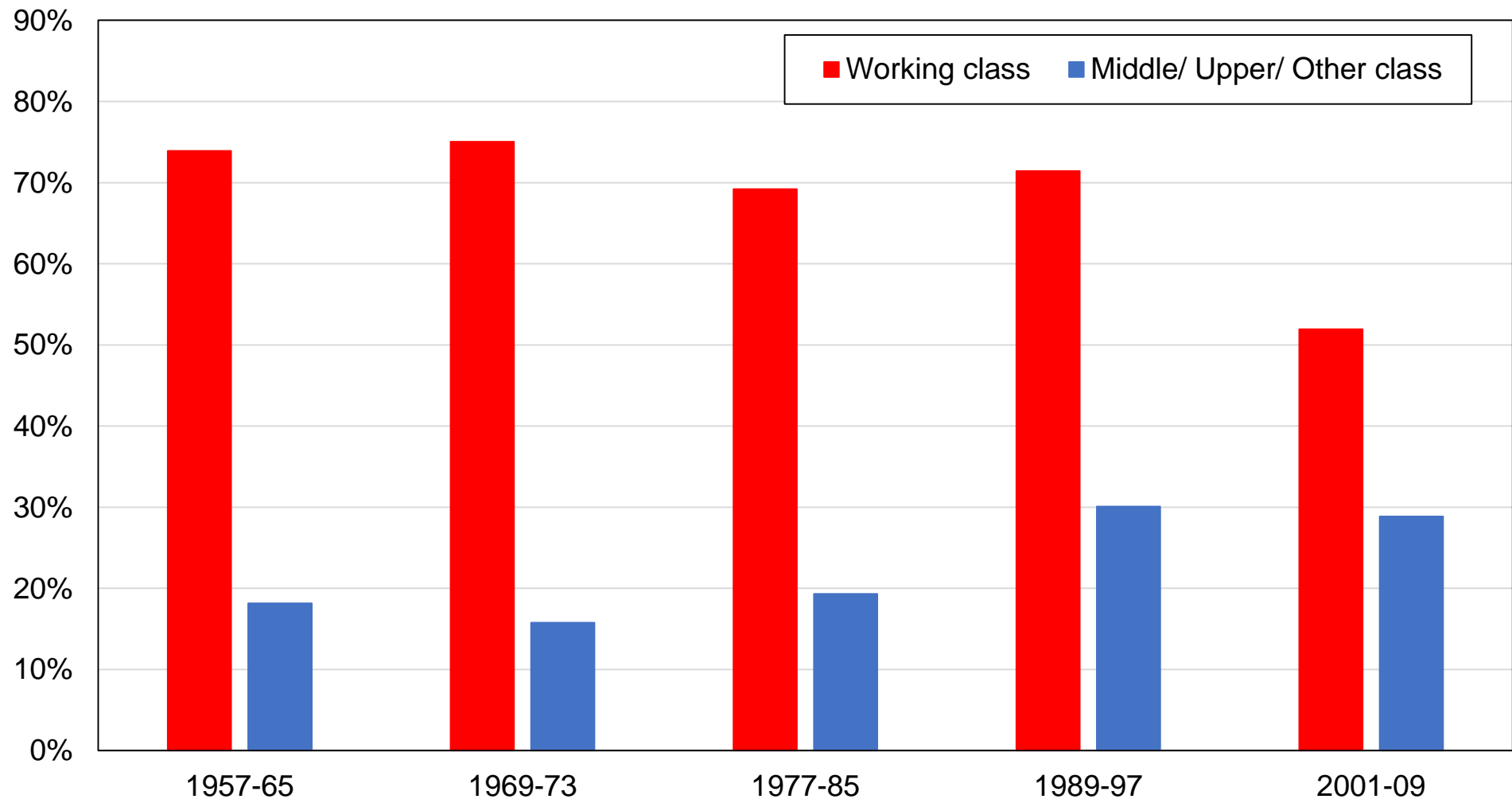
Figure A2 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the evolution of the voting pattern among the tertiary educated and the top 10% earners voting for the left-wing parties, after controls.

Figure A3 - Vote for the left by perceived social class in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by self-perceived social class. Notice that the information about perceived social class is not available over the last decade.

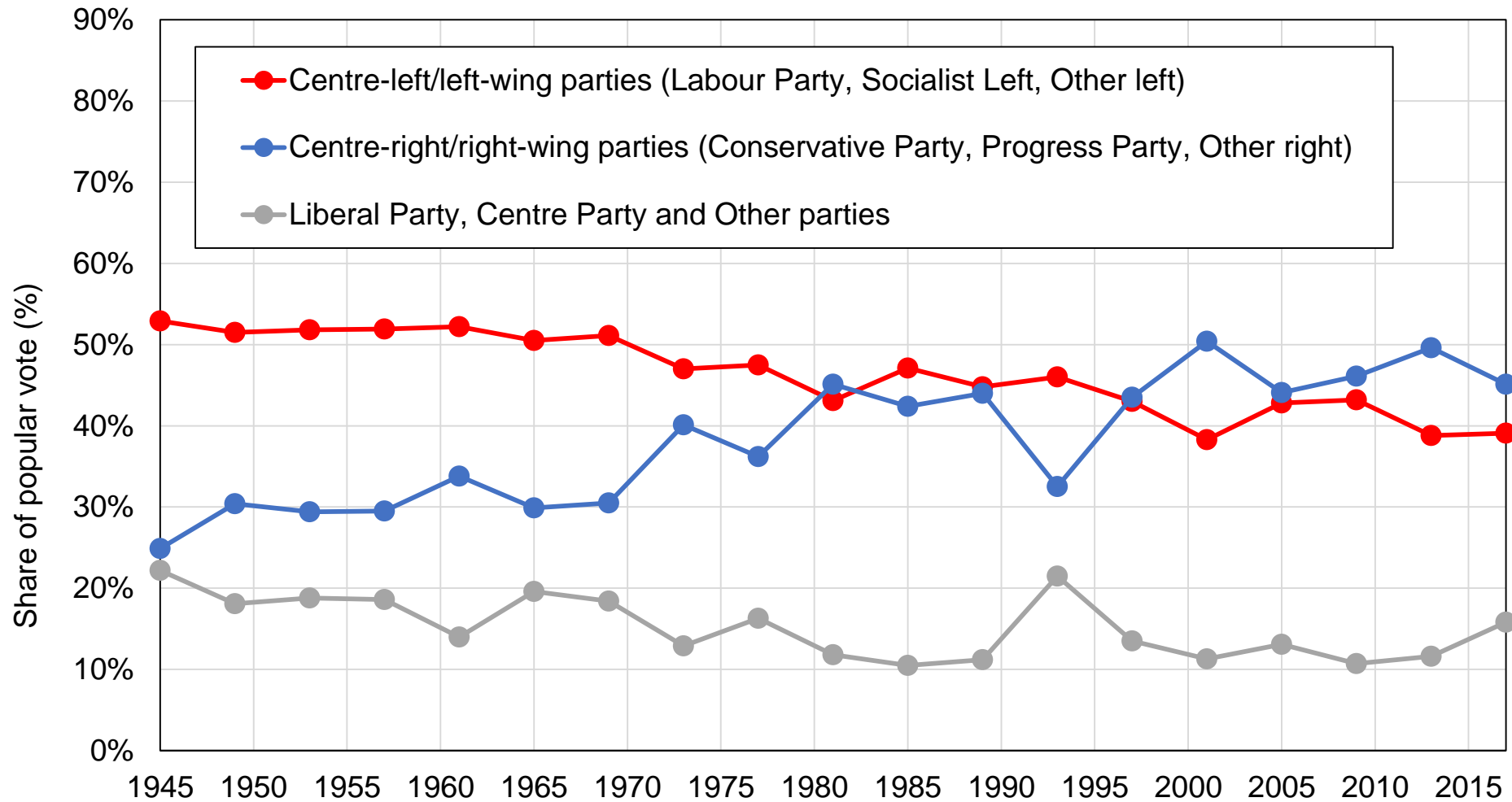
Table A1 - The structure of political cleavages in Norway, 2013-2017

	Share of votes received (%)							
	Labour Party	Socialist Left Party	Green Party	Conservative Party	Progress Party	Centre Party	Christian Democrats	Liberal Party
Education								
Primary	30%	5%	1%	25%	20%	8%	5%	3%
Secondary	27%	4%	3%	29%	16%	9%	5%	4%
Tertiary	27%	8%	4%	30%	8%	5%	5%	8%
Income								
Bottom 50%	28%	6%	4%	25%	15%	8%	5%	5%
Middle 40%	30%	6%	3%	30%	11%	7%	3%	5%
Top 10%	20%	4%	1%	46%	11%	5%	1%	8%
Gender								
Women	30%	9%	3%	27%	10%	6%	6%	6%
Men	25%	4%	3%	31%	16%	8%	4%	5%
Age								
20-40	25%	9%	5%	25%	12%	7%	5%	8%
40-59	28%	5%	2%	33%	12%	7%	4%	5%
60+	30%	4%	1%	27%	15%	8%	8%	4%
Religion								
No religion	30%	16%	7%	18%	7%	3%	3%	7%
Catholic	9%	9%	0%	49%	14%	4%	10%	0%
Protestant	27%	4%	2%	31%	14%	8%	5%	5%
Muslim	59%	11%	0%	13%	5%	0%	4%	4%
Other	15%	6%	9%	17%	6%	2%	25%	9%

Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Labour Party, the Socialist Left Party, the Conservative Party, the Progress Party, the Green Party, the Centre Party and the Liberal Party by selected individual characteristics over the 2013-2017 period.

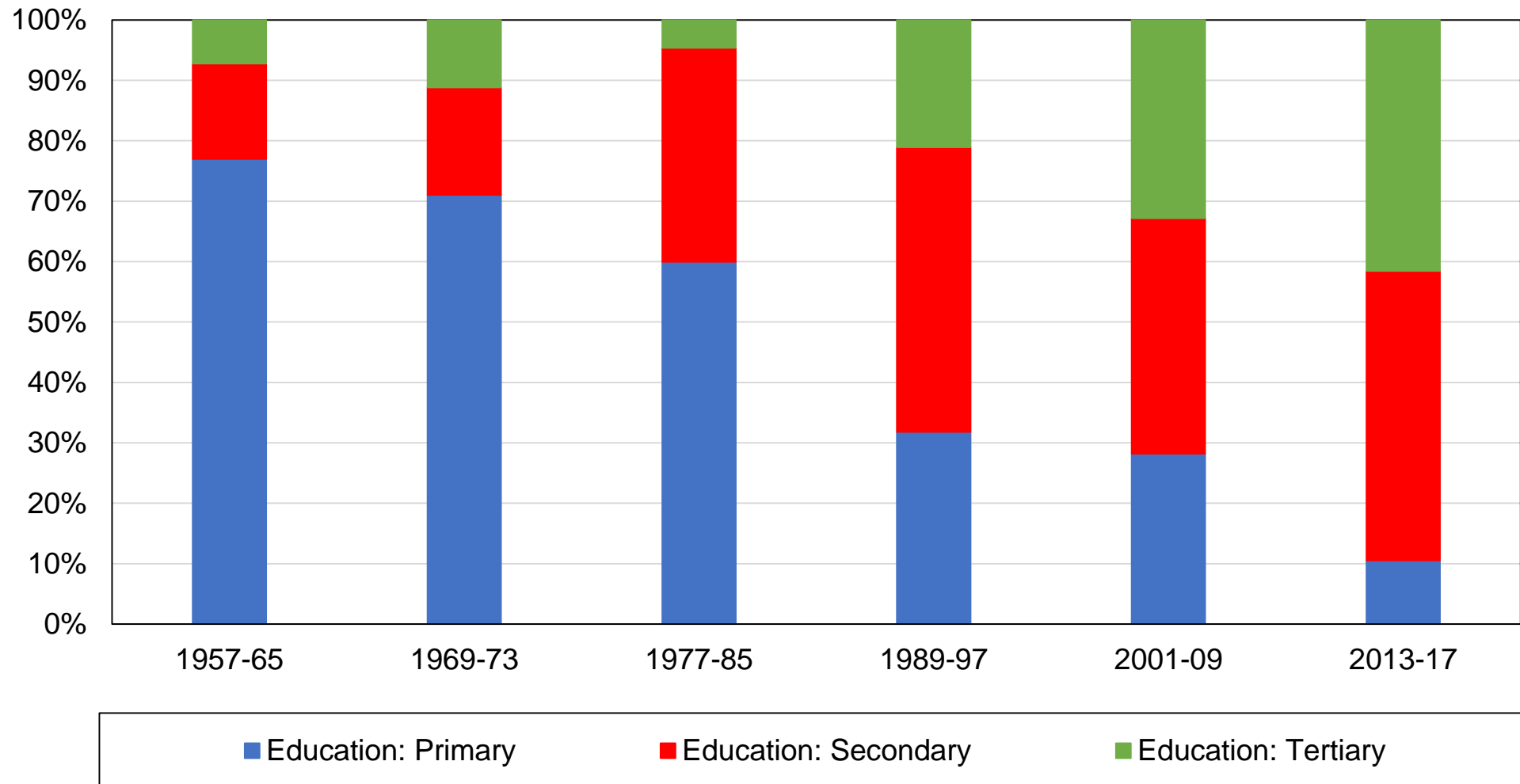
Figure AA1 - Election results by groups in Norway, 1945-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Norwegian political parties in general elections between 1945 and 2017.

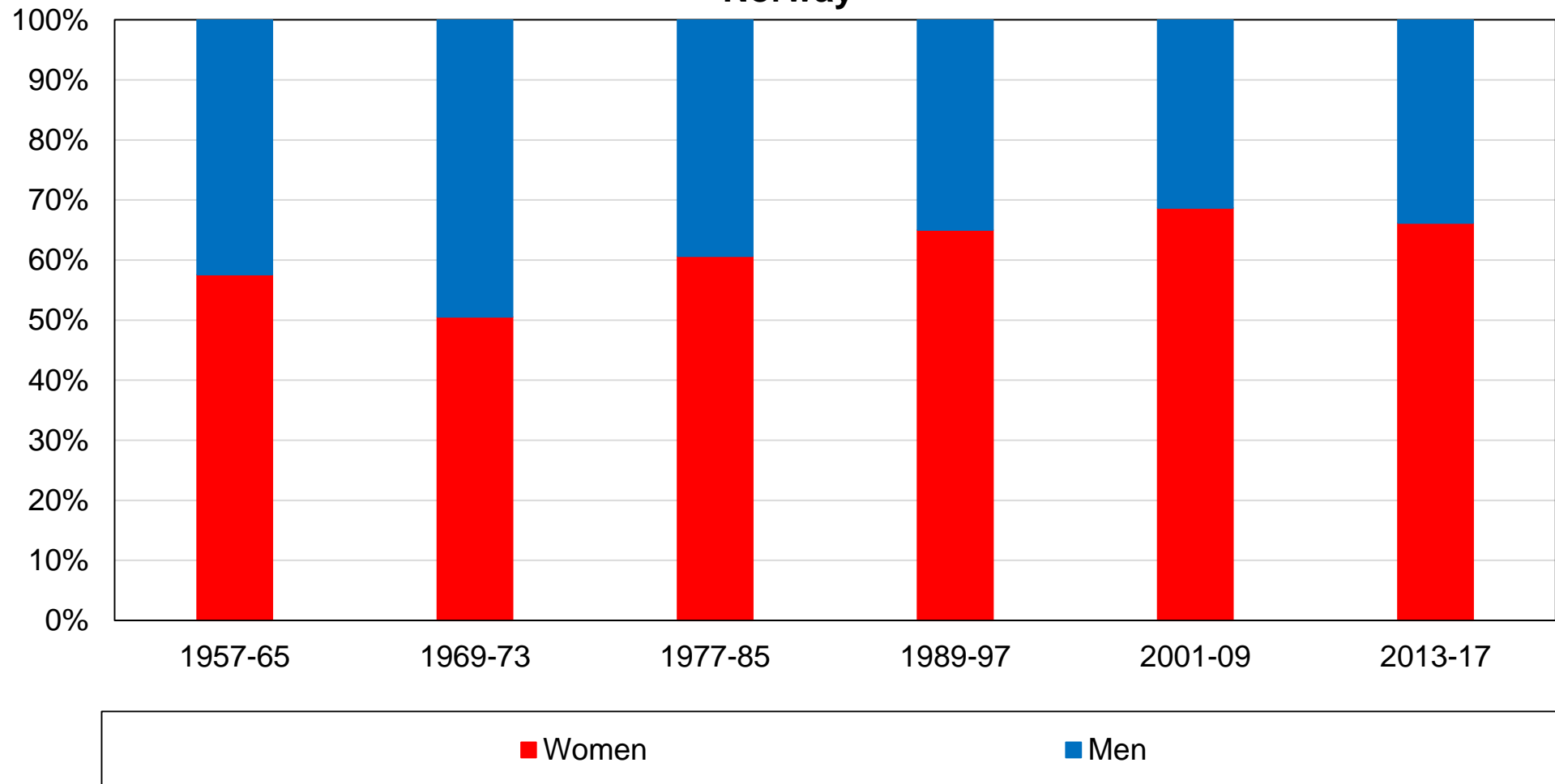
Figure AA2 - The evolution of education in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Norwegian adult population and its evolution over time since 1957.

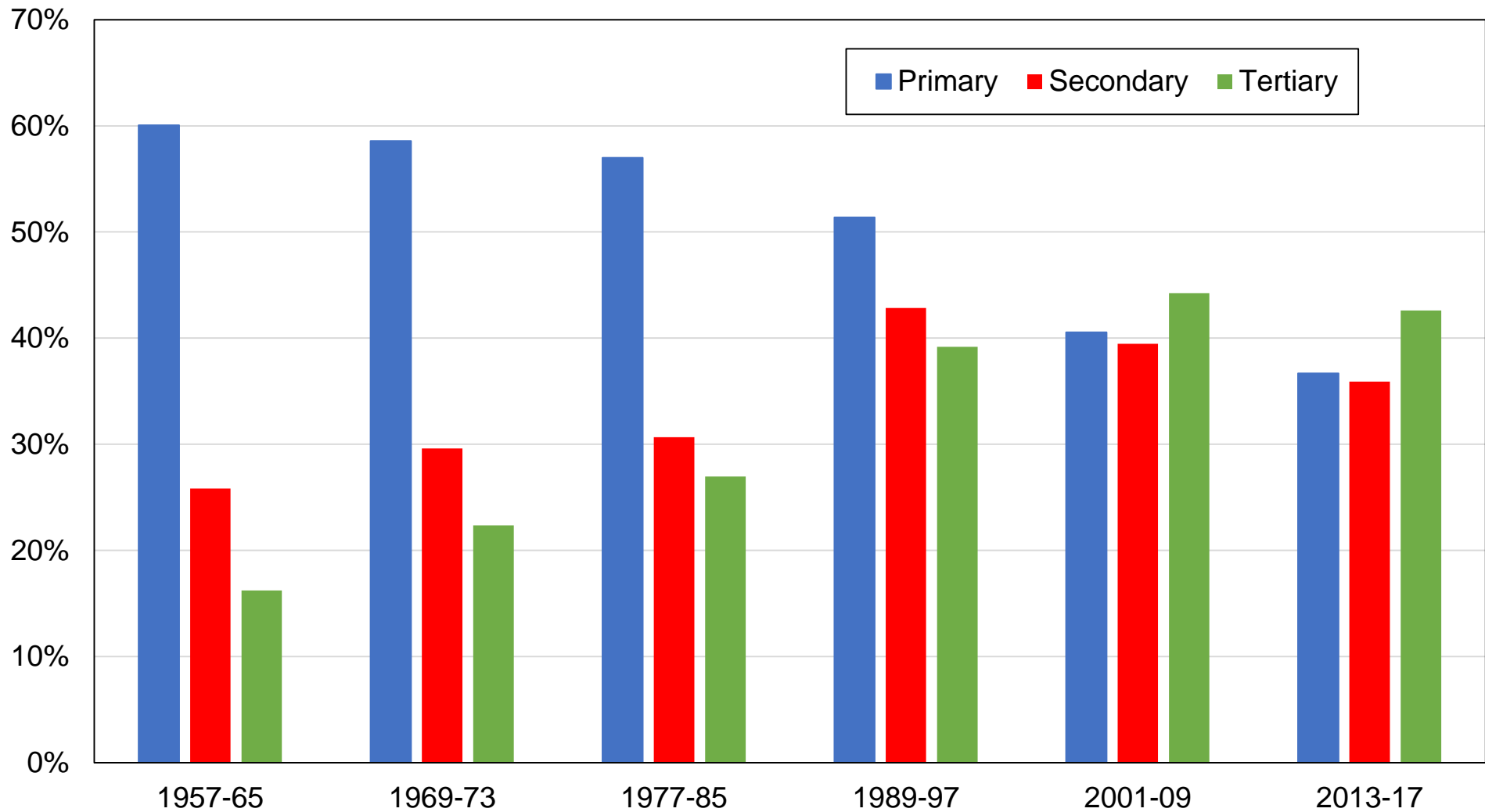
Figure AA3 - The evolution of public sector employment by gender in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of public sector employment by gender of the Norwegian adult population and its evolution over time since 1957.

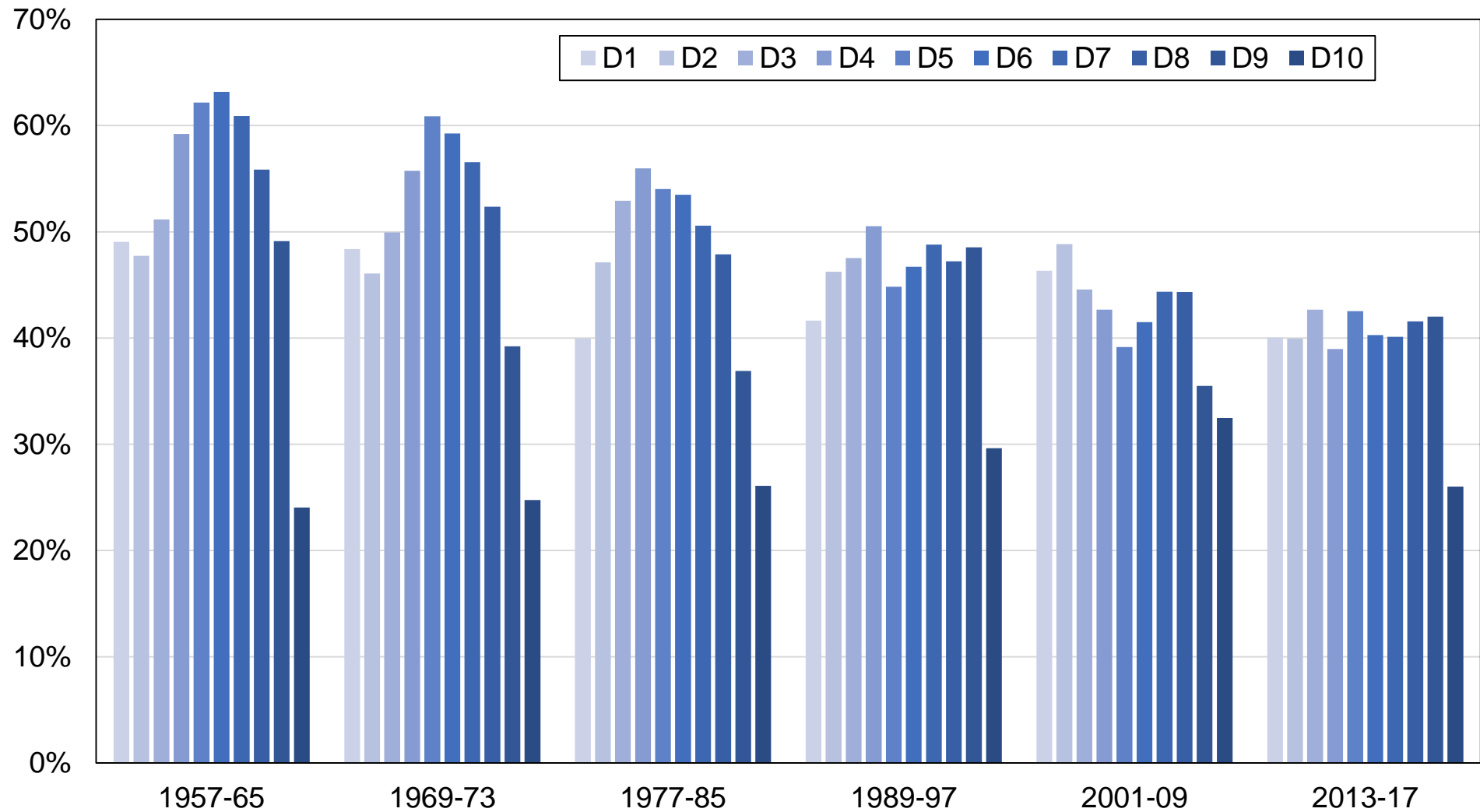
Figure AB1 - Vote for the left by education level in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

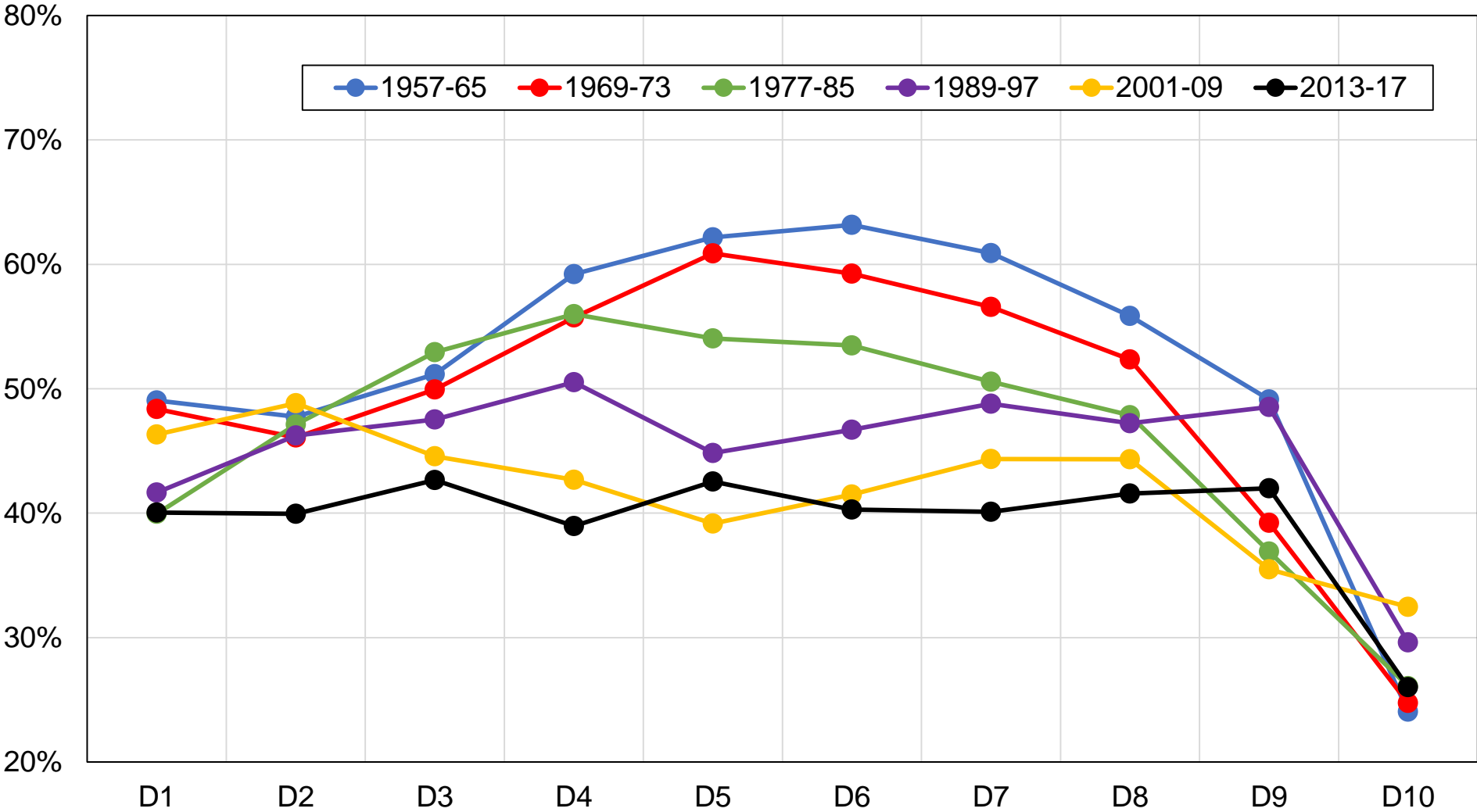
Figure AB2 - Vote for the left by income decile in Norway (bars)



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

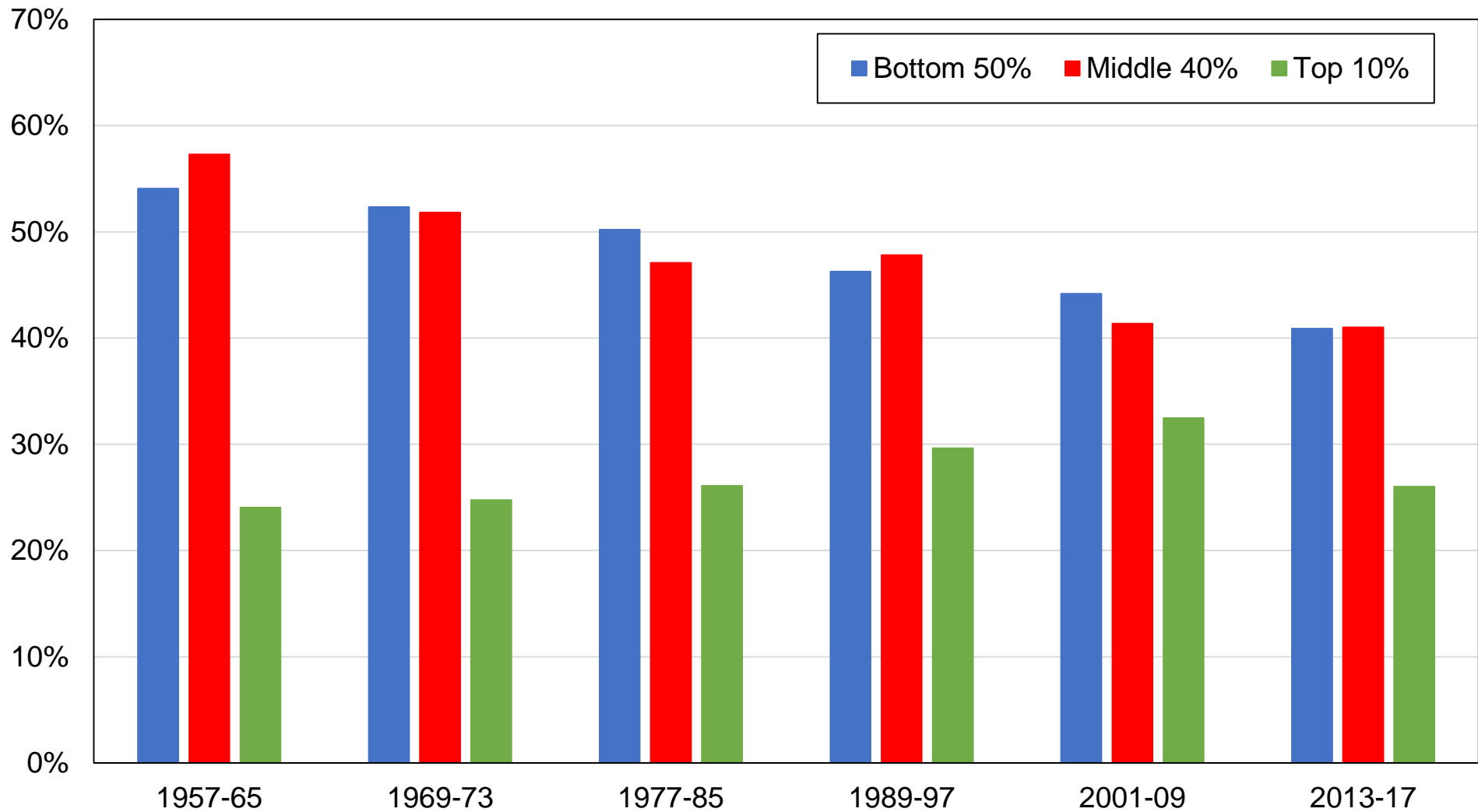
Figure AB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Norway (lines)



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

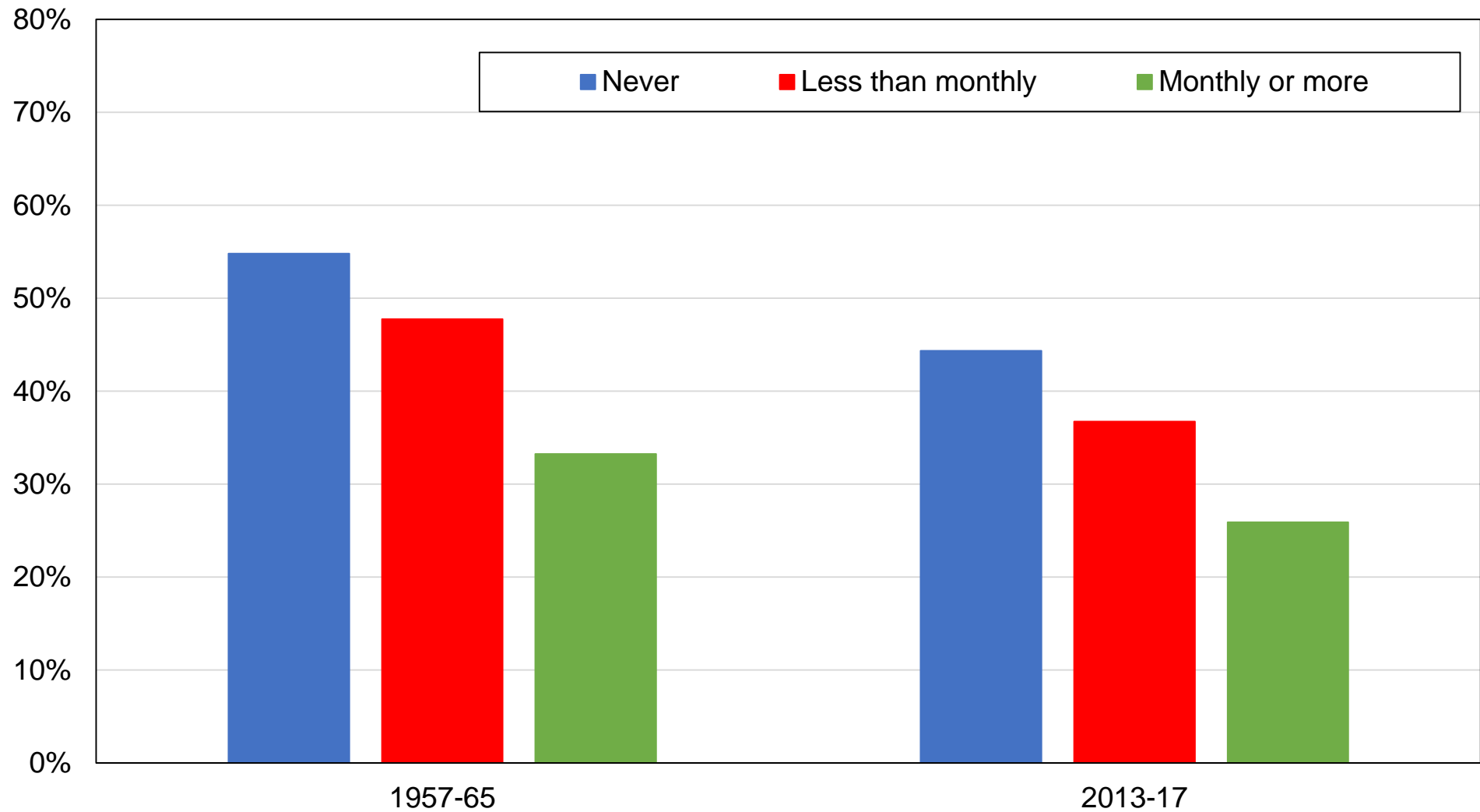
Figure AB4 - Vote for the left by income group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

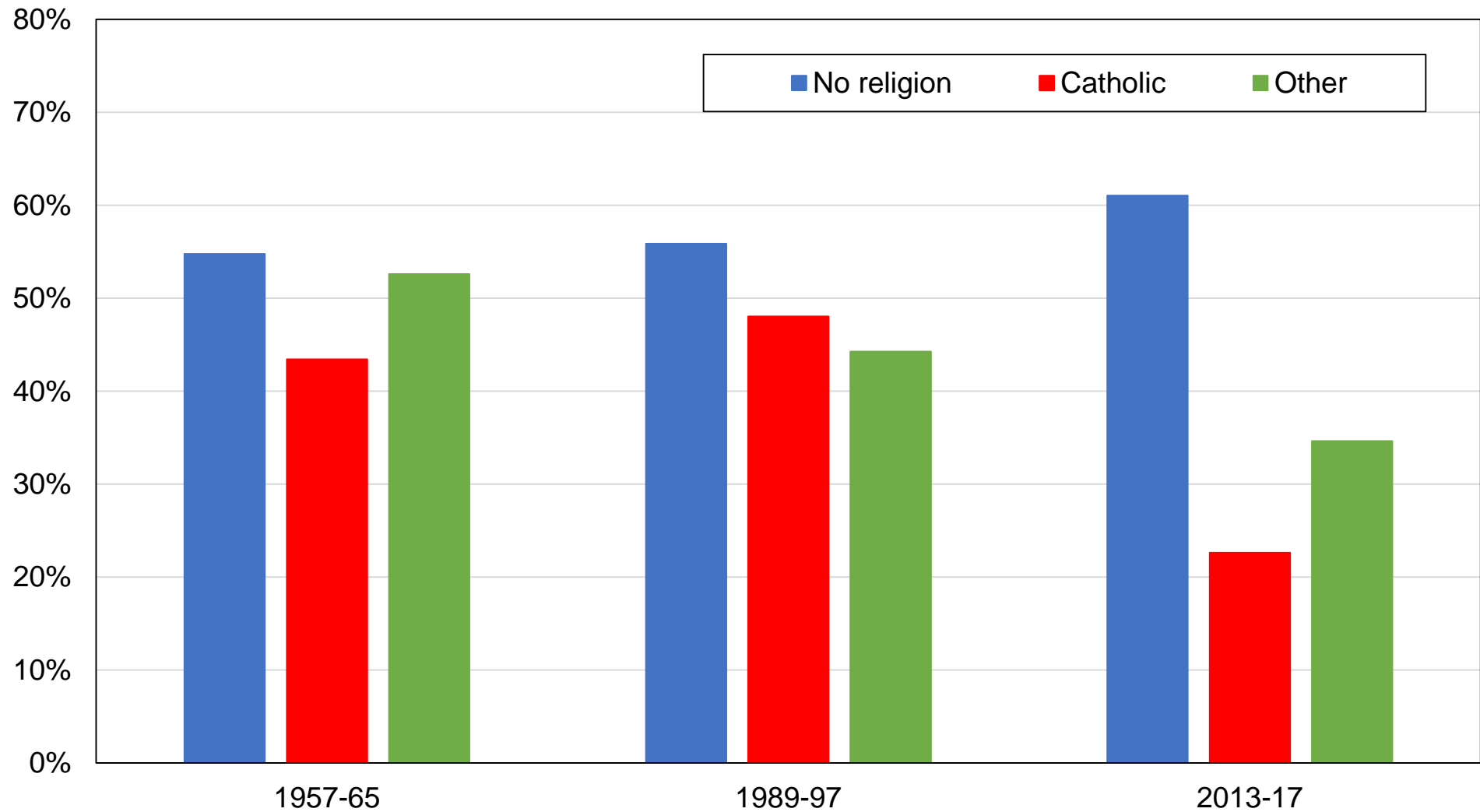
Figure AB5 - Vote for the left by church attendance in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by church attendance.

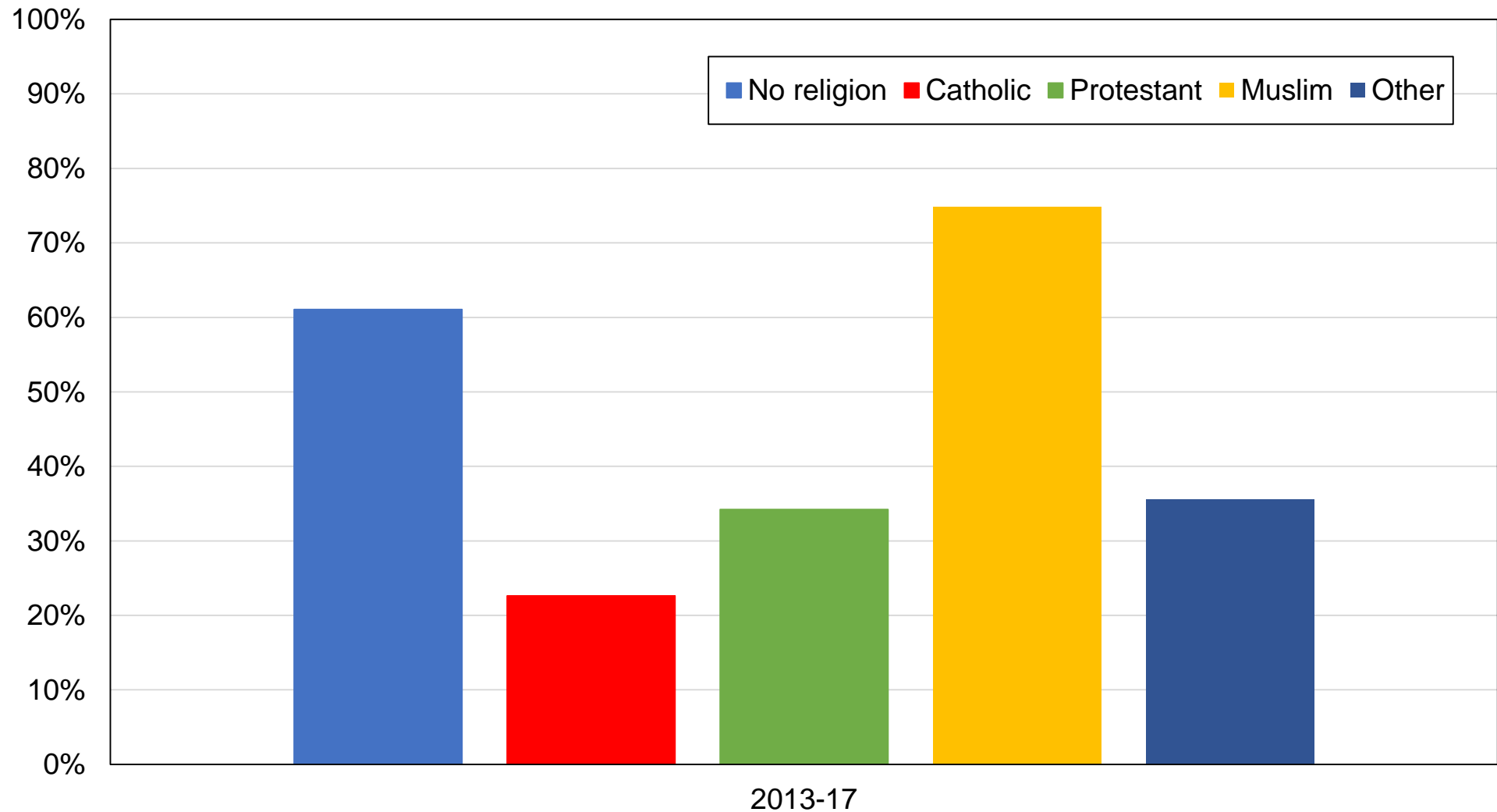
Figure AB6 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

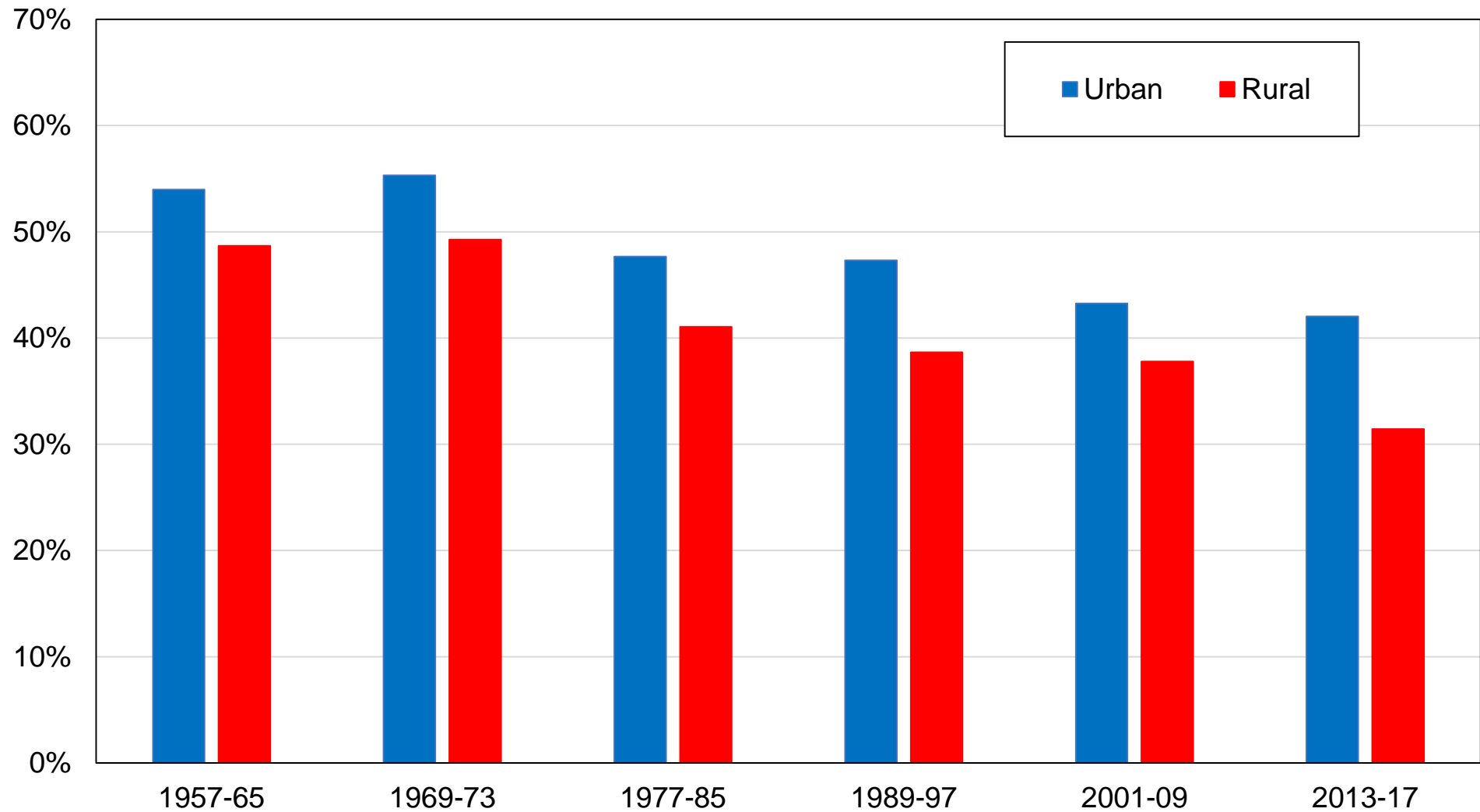
Figure AB7 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Norway, 2013-17



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation over the last decade.

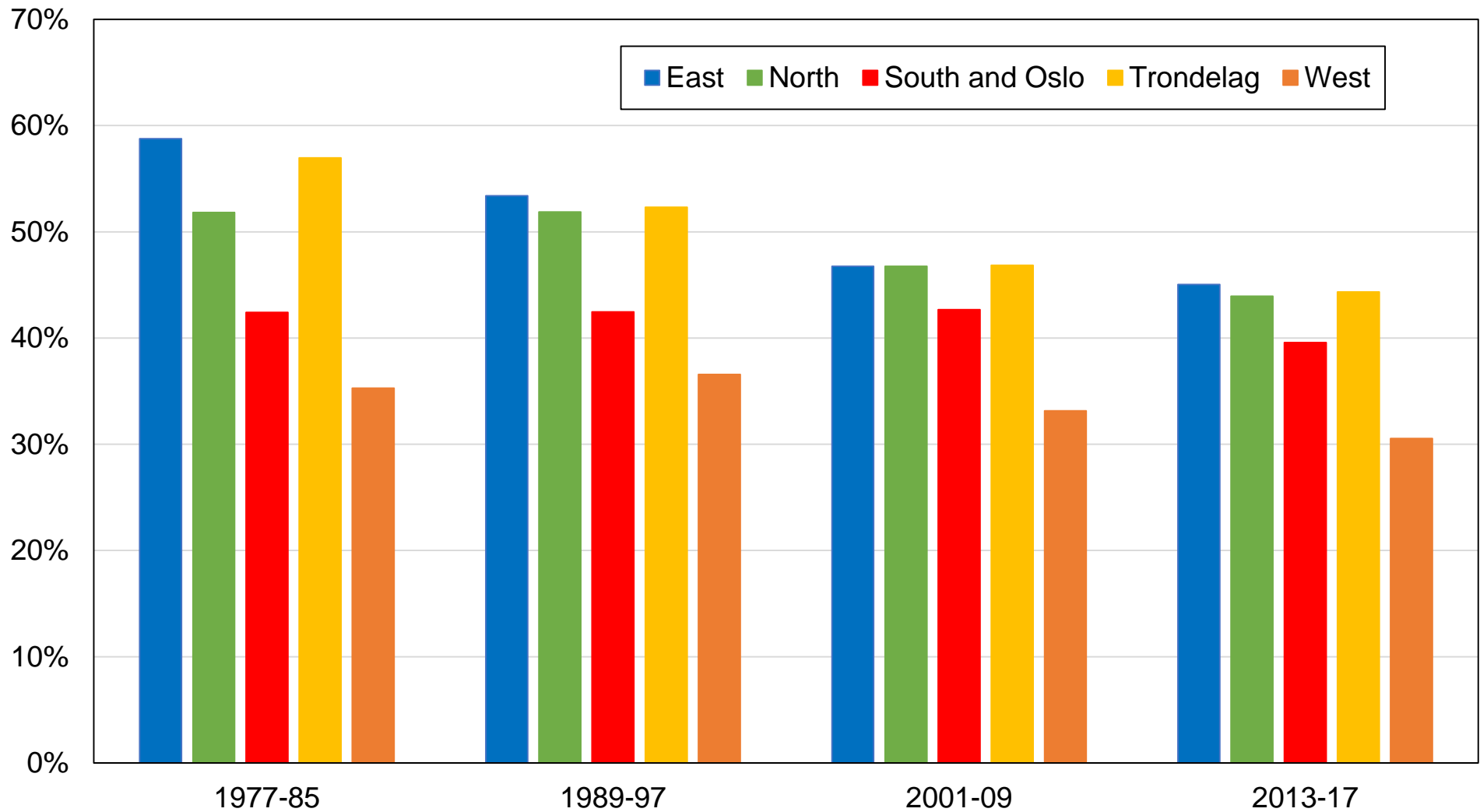
Figure AB8 - Vote for the left by location in Norway



Source: authors' computations Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

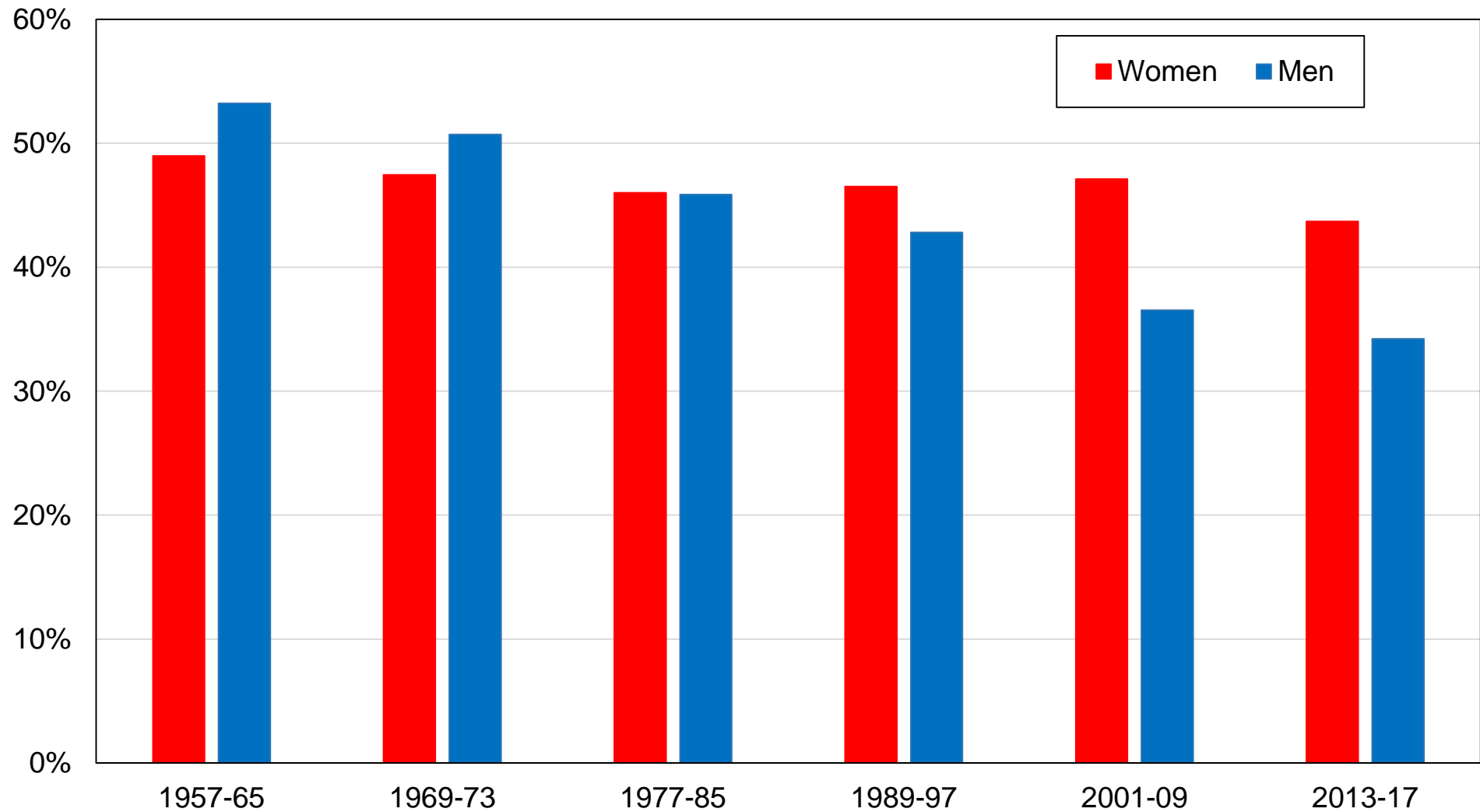
Figure AB9 - Vote for the left by region of residence in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by region of residence.

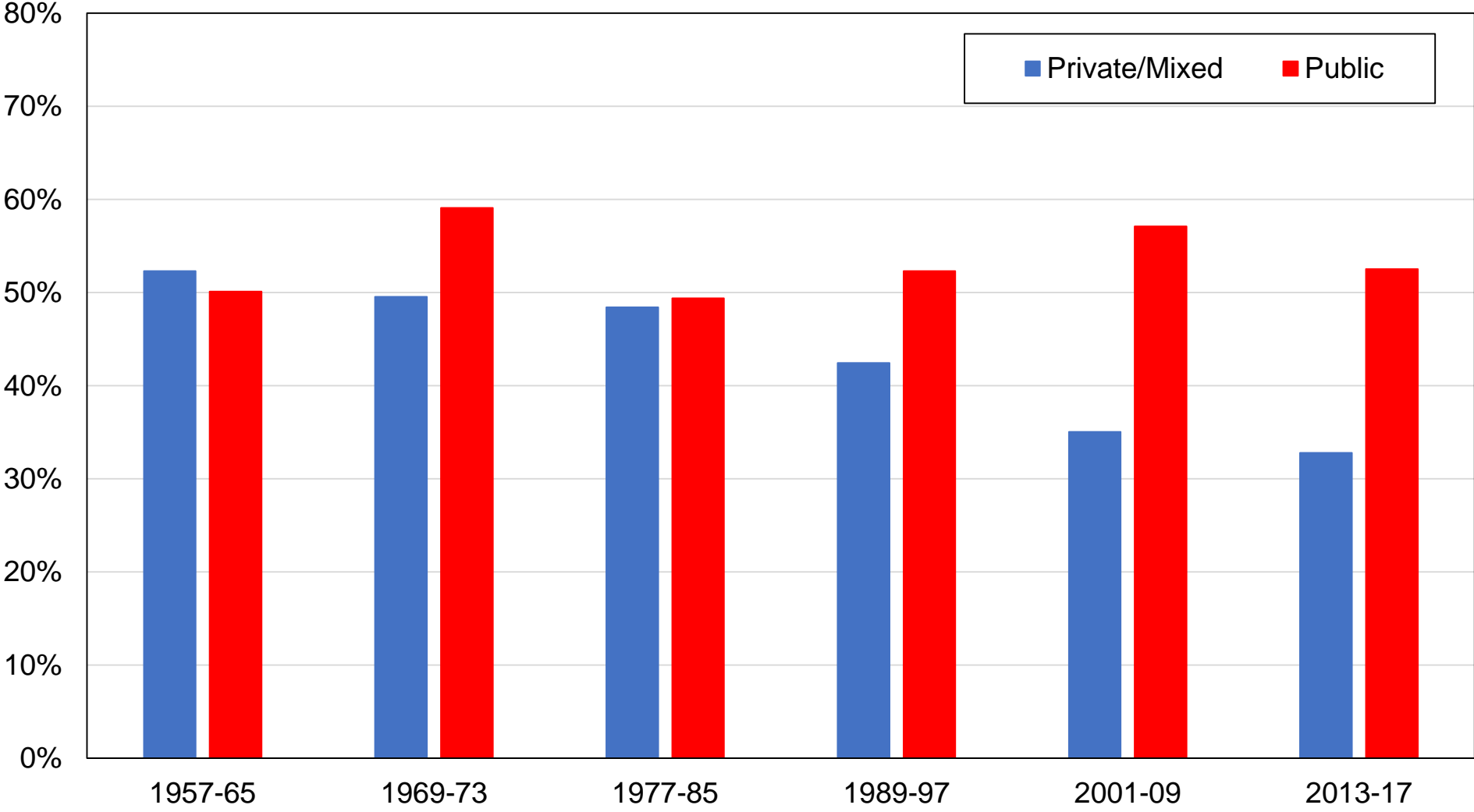
Figure AB10 - Vote for the left by gender in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

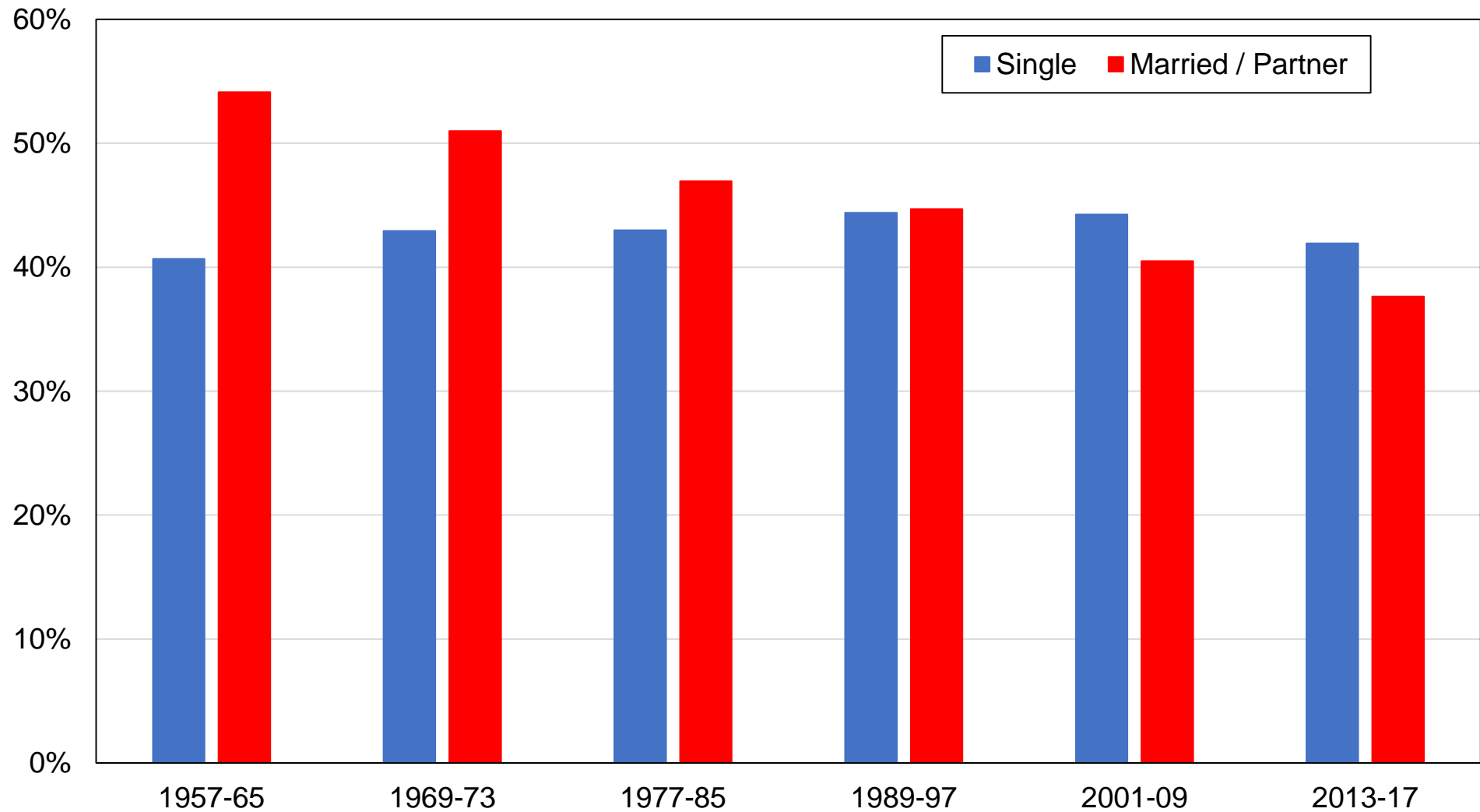
Figure AB11 - Vote for the left by sector of employment in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment sector.

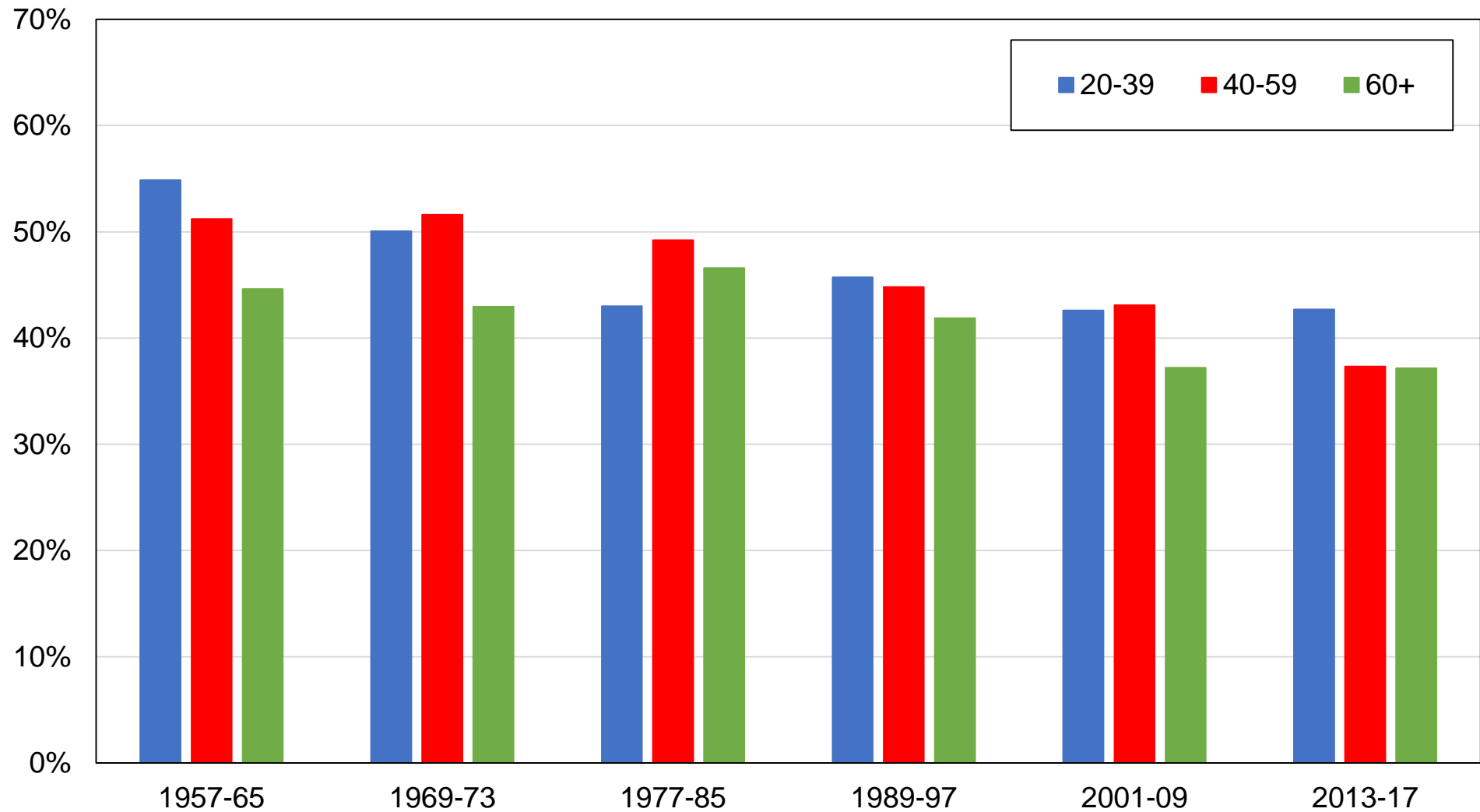
Figure AB12 - Vote for the left by marital status in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

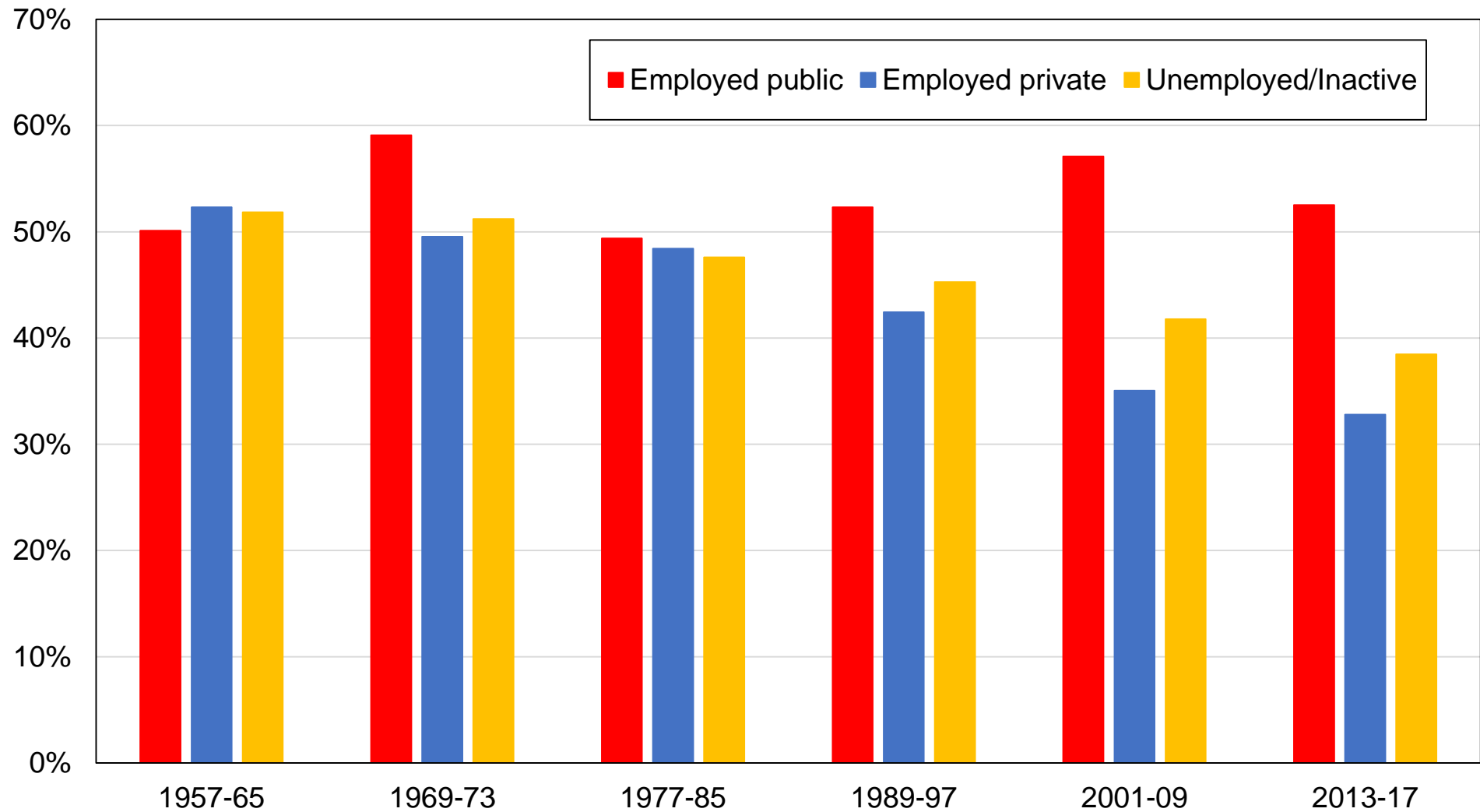
Figure AB13 - Vote for the left by age group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

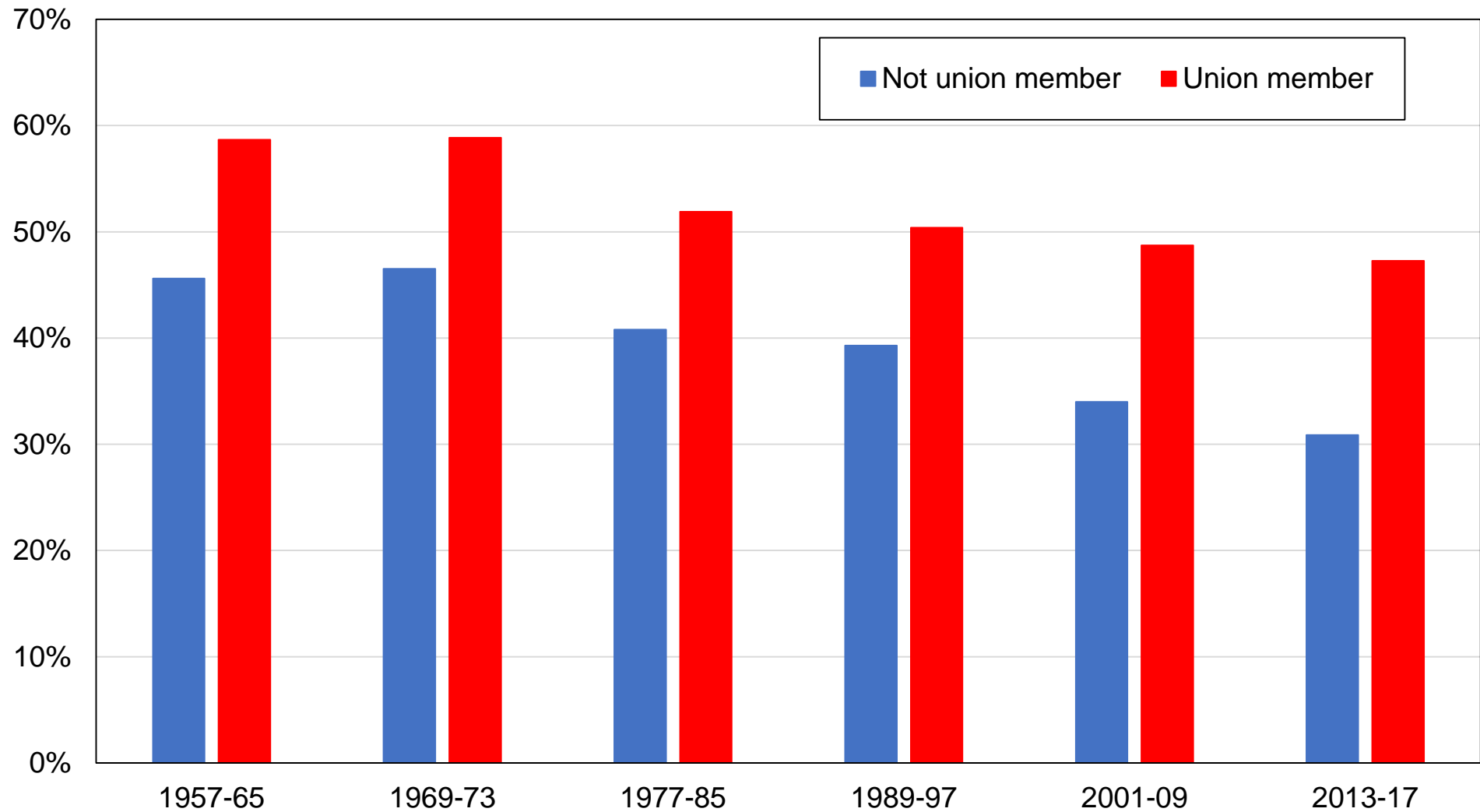
Figure AB14 - Vote for the left by employment status in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

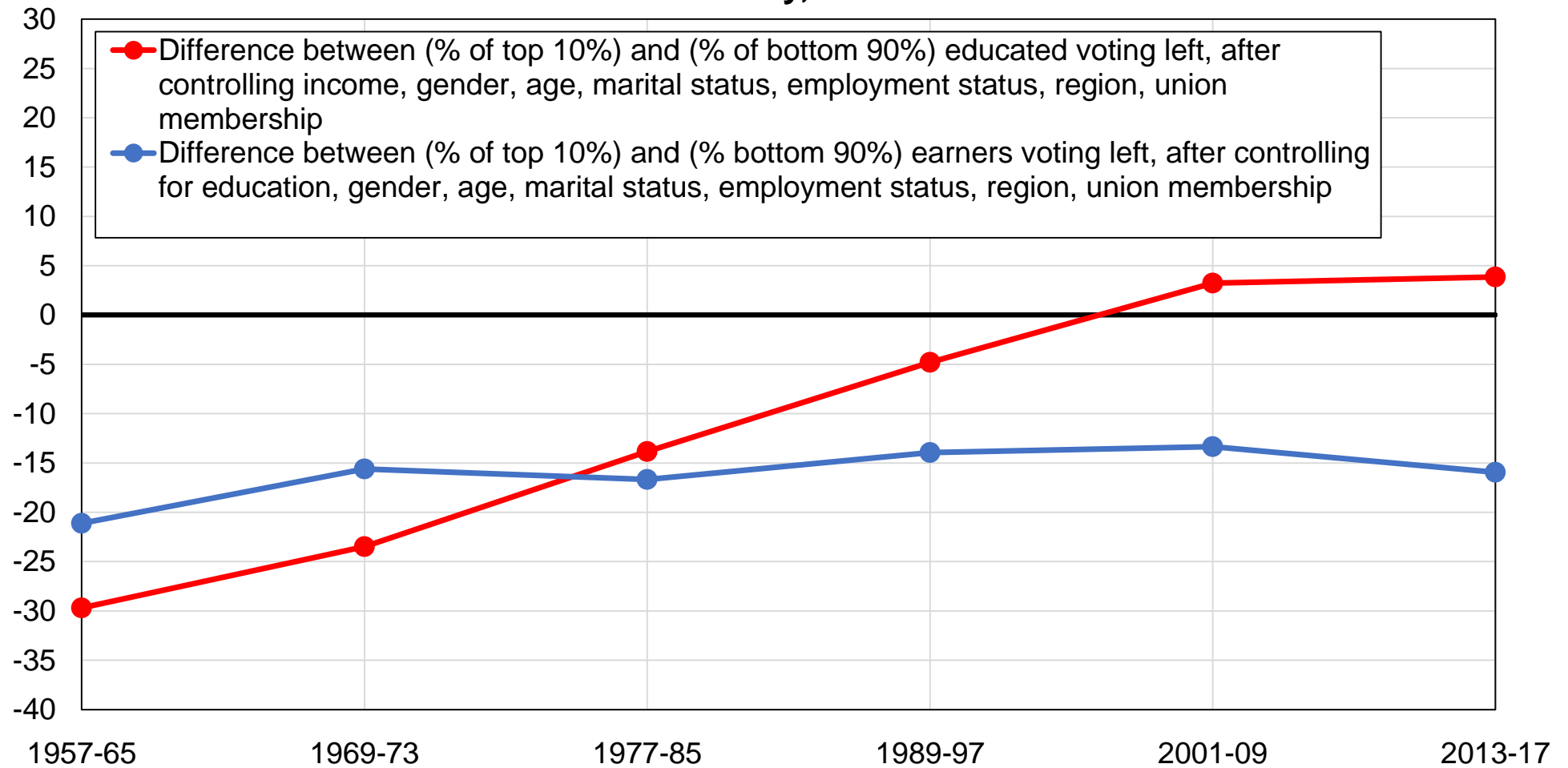
Figure AB15 - Vote the left by union membership in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

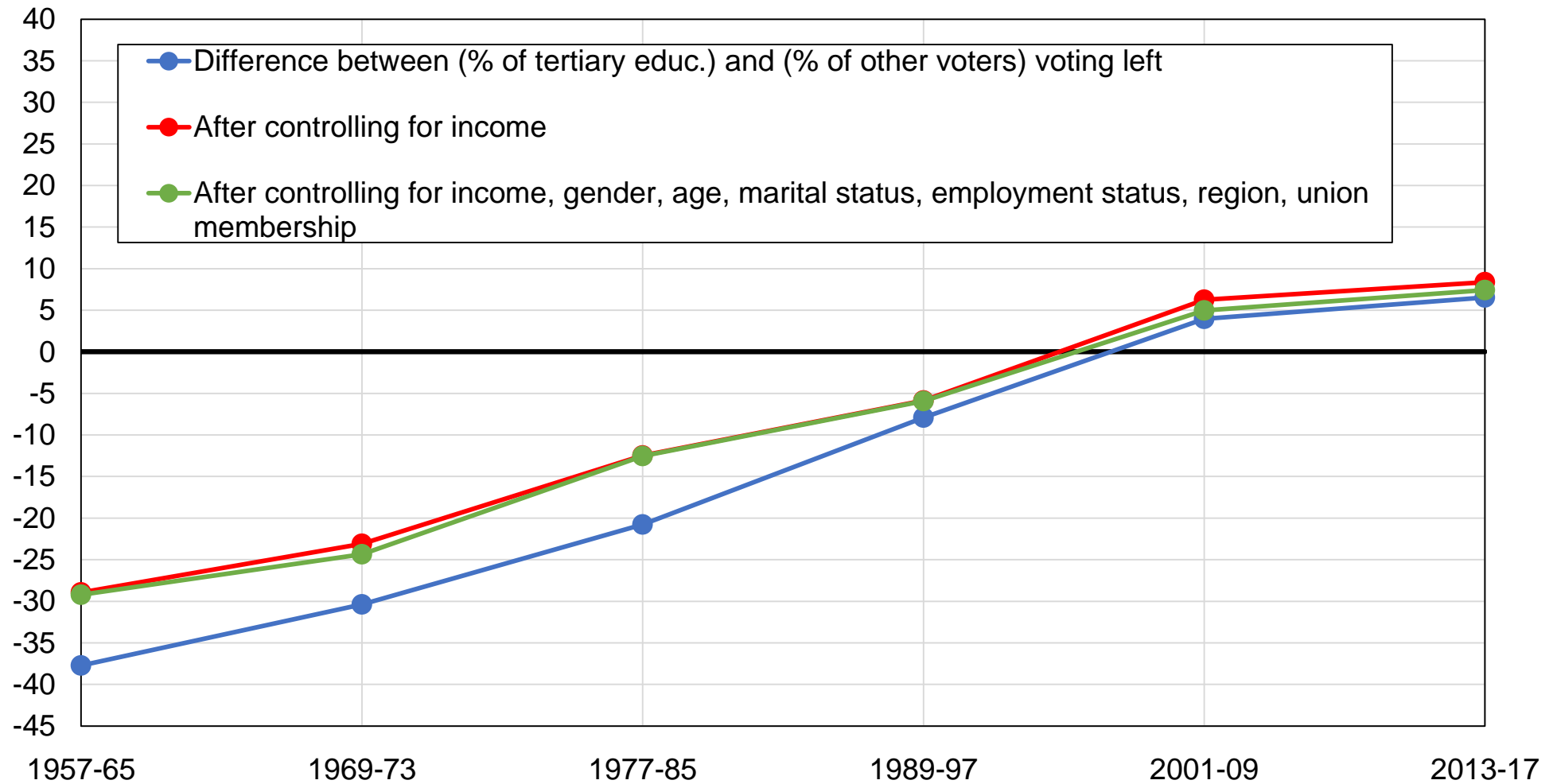
Figure AB16 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Norway, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the evolution of the voting pattern among the top 10% educated and the top 10% earners voting for the left-wing parties, after controls.

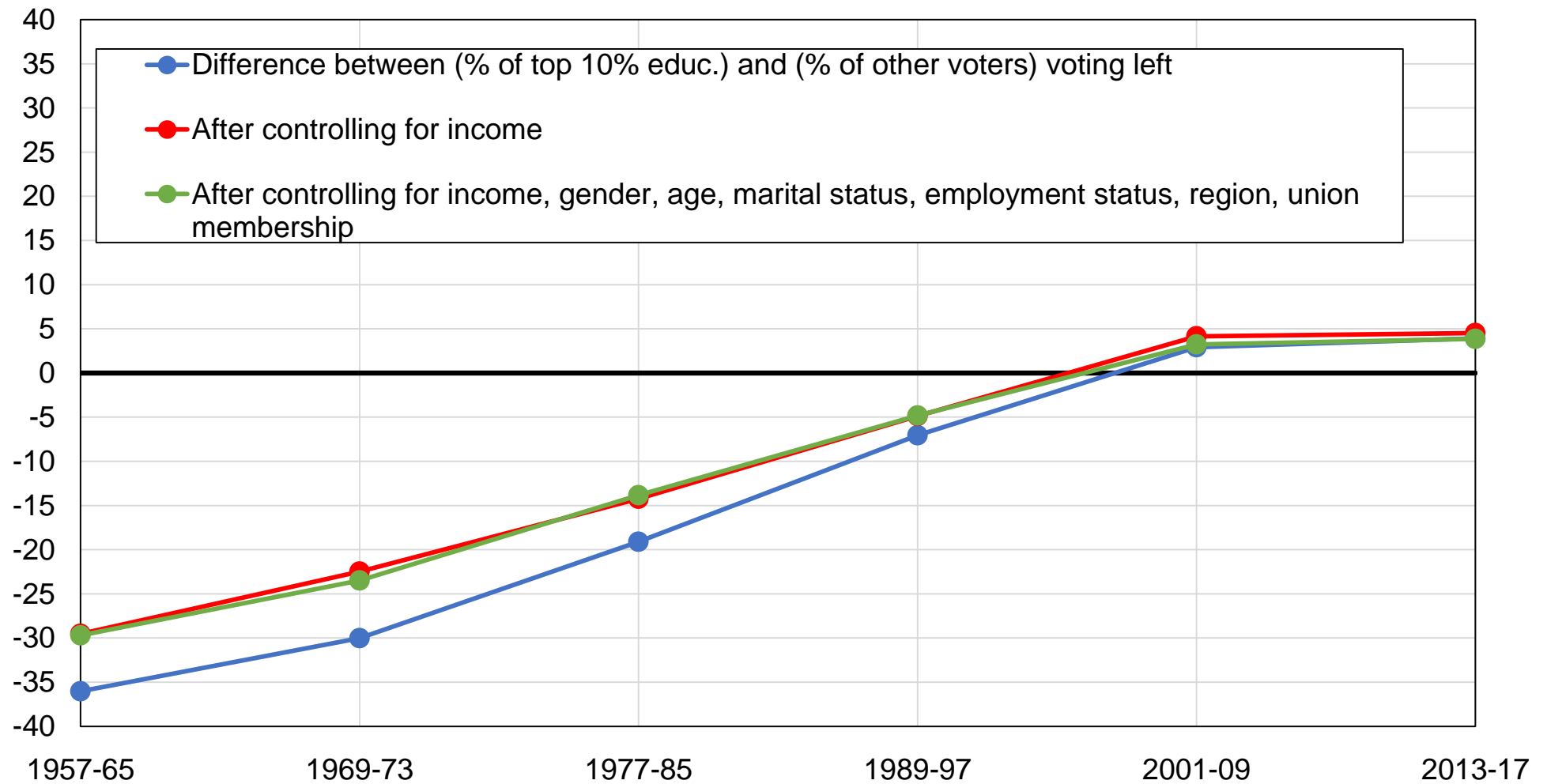
Figure AB17 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

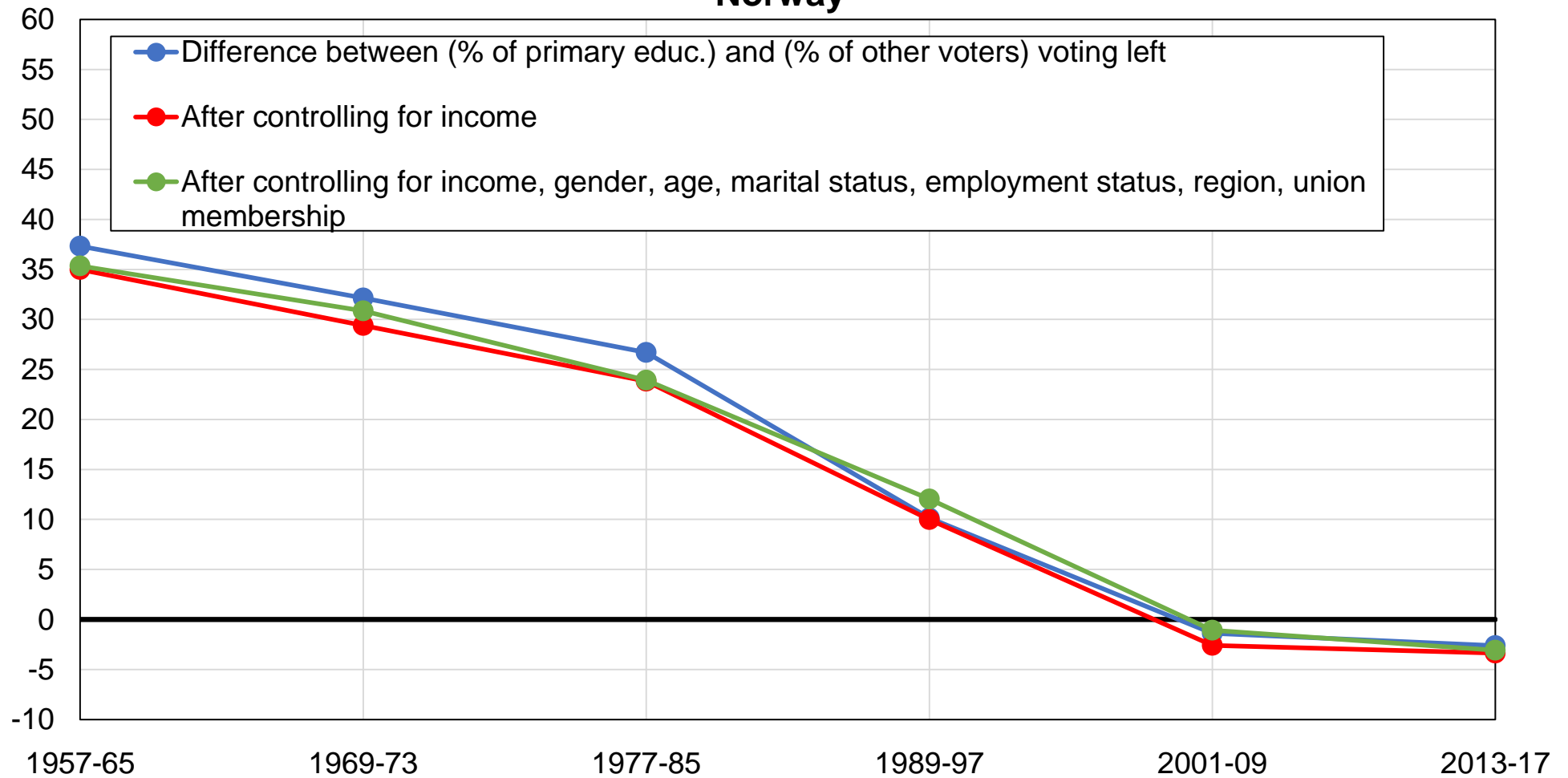
Figure AB18 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

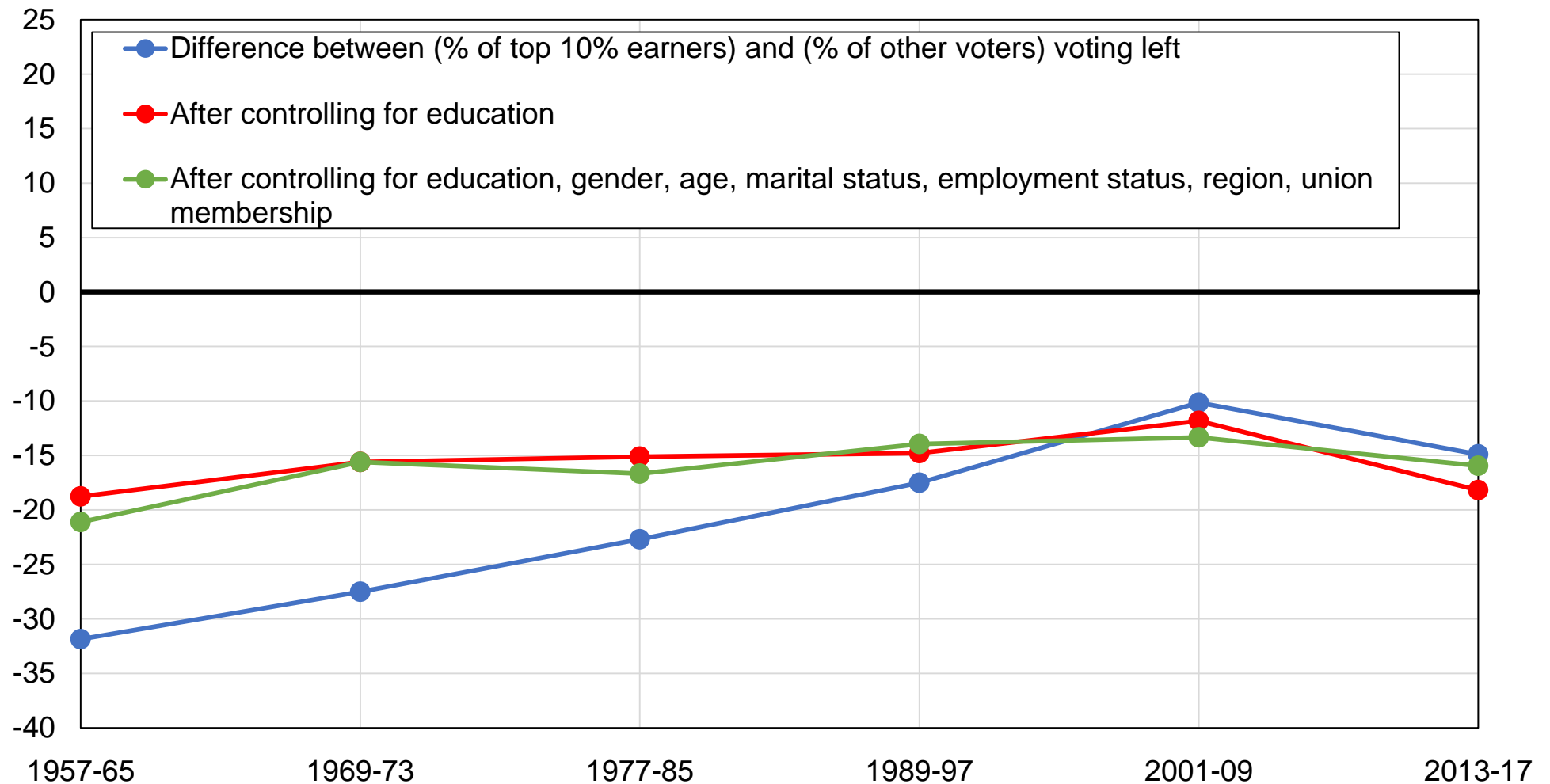
Figure AB19 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

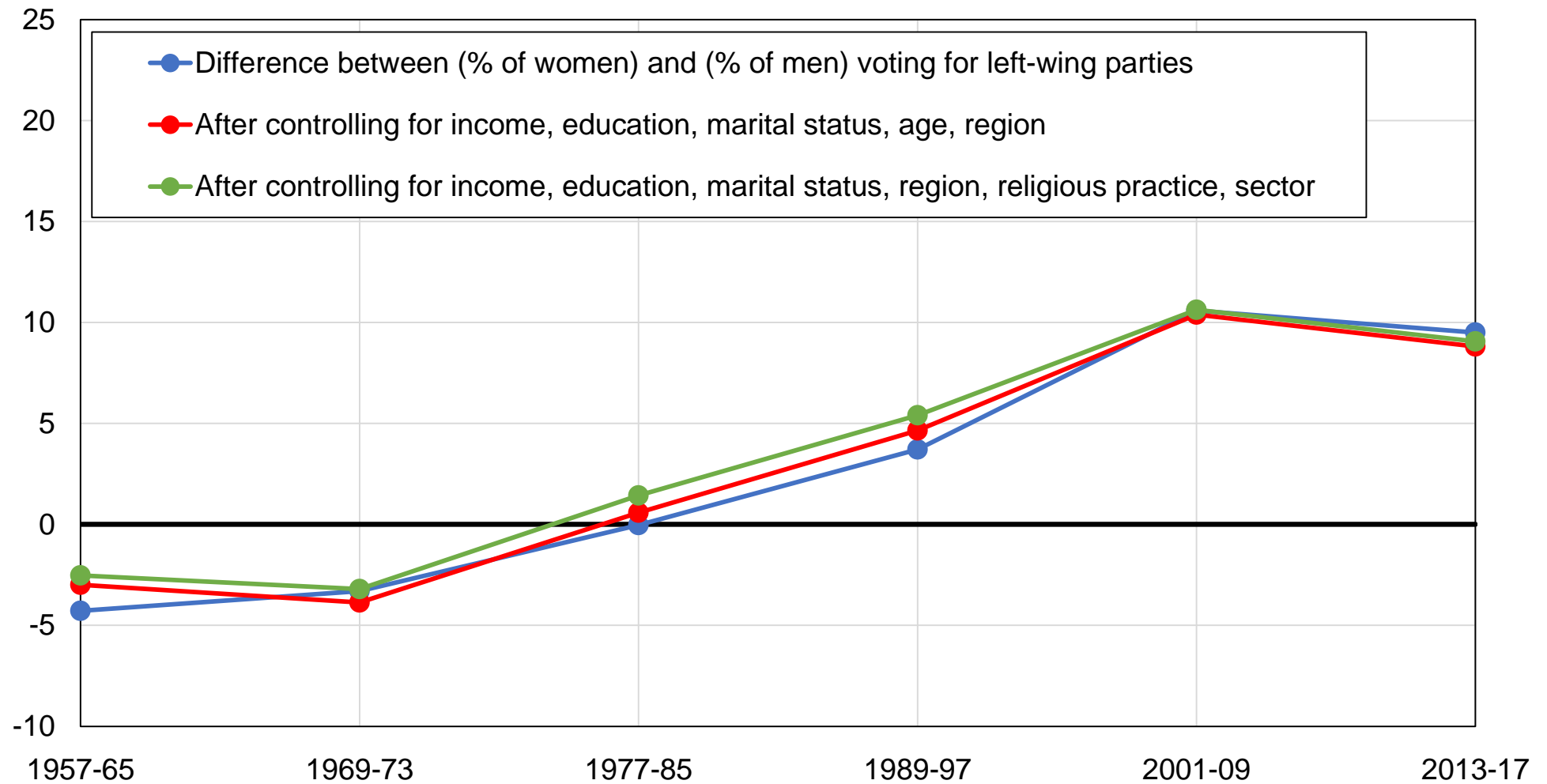
Figure AB20 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

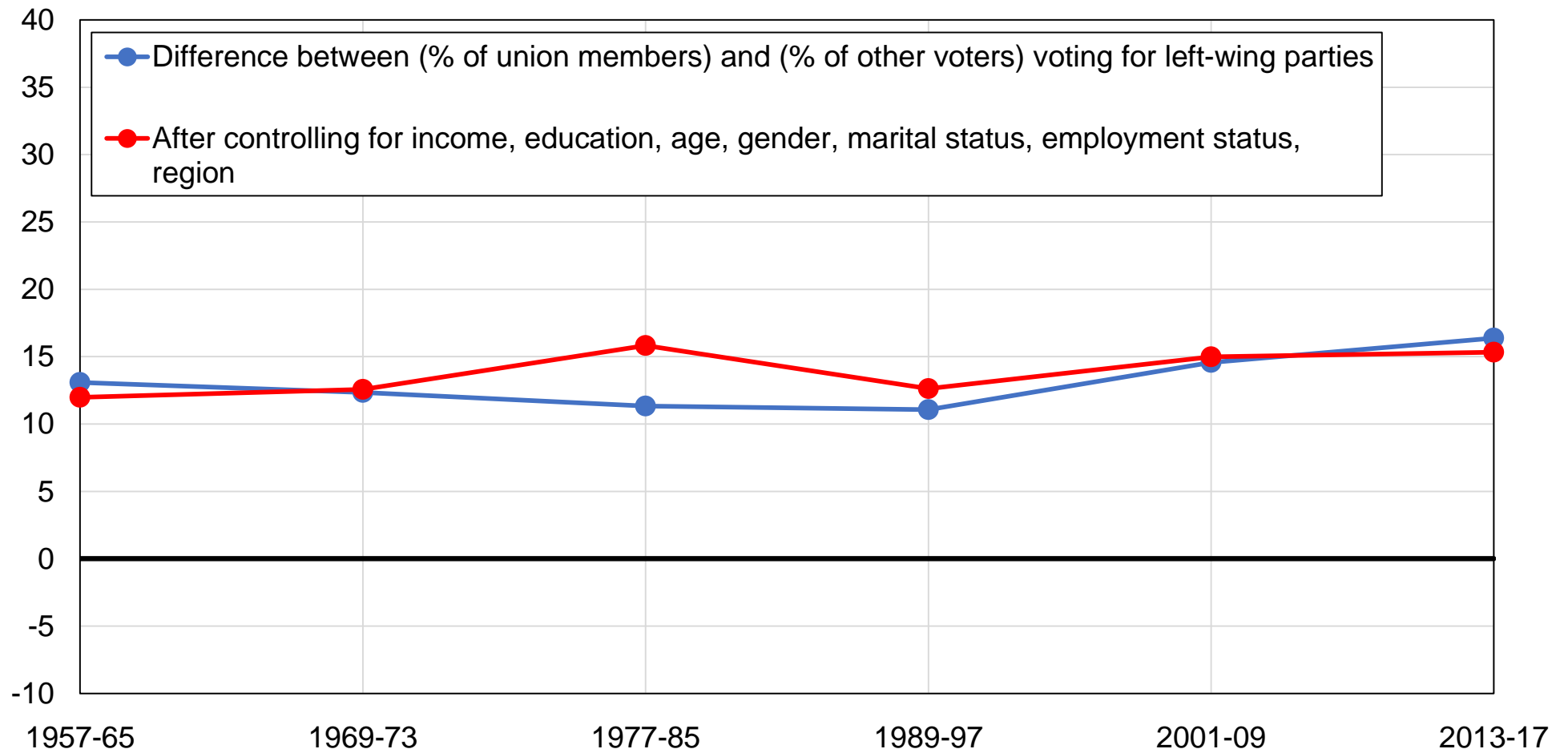
Figure AB21 - Vote for the left among women in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

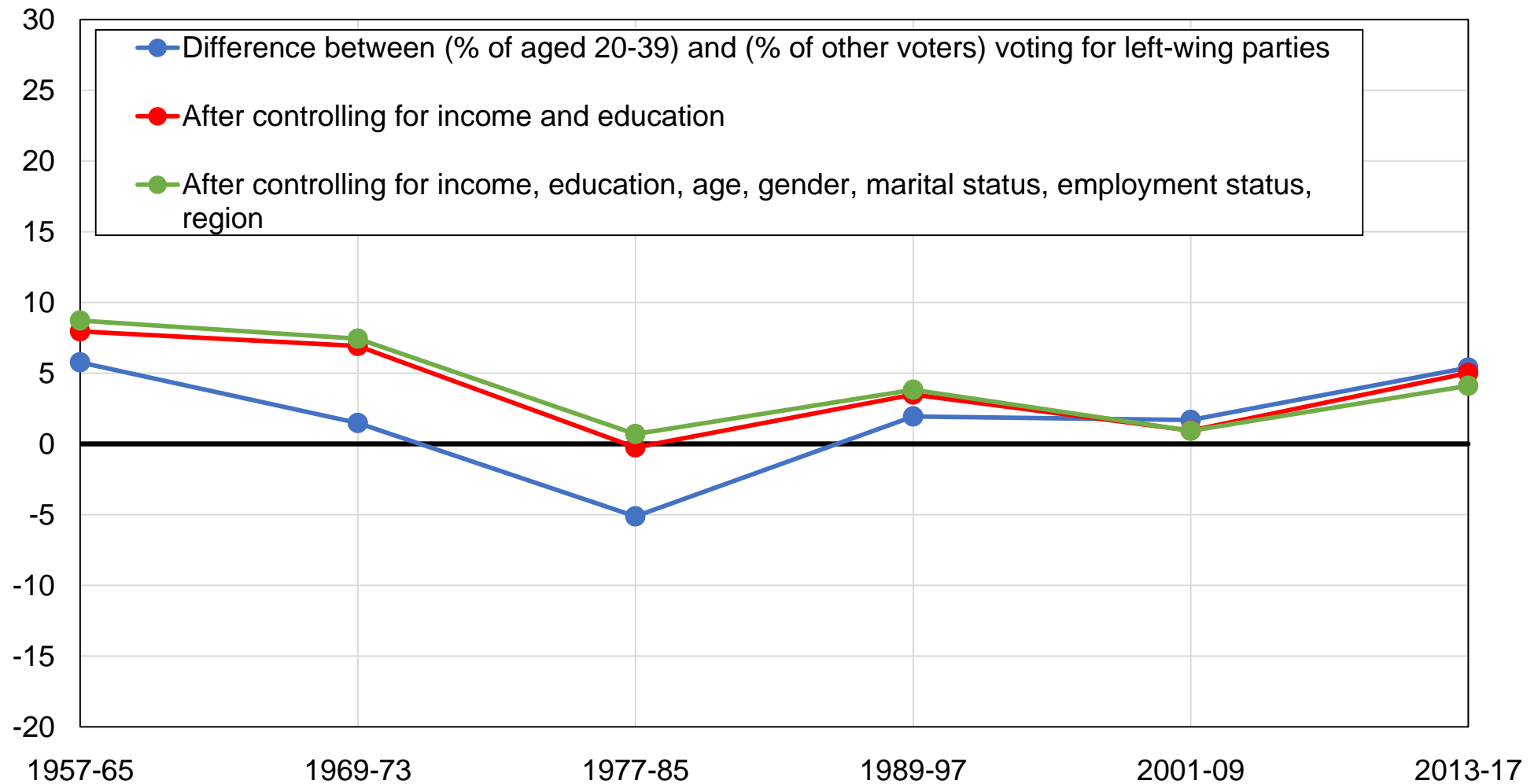
Figure AB22 - Vote for the left among union members in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

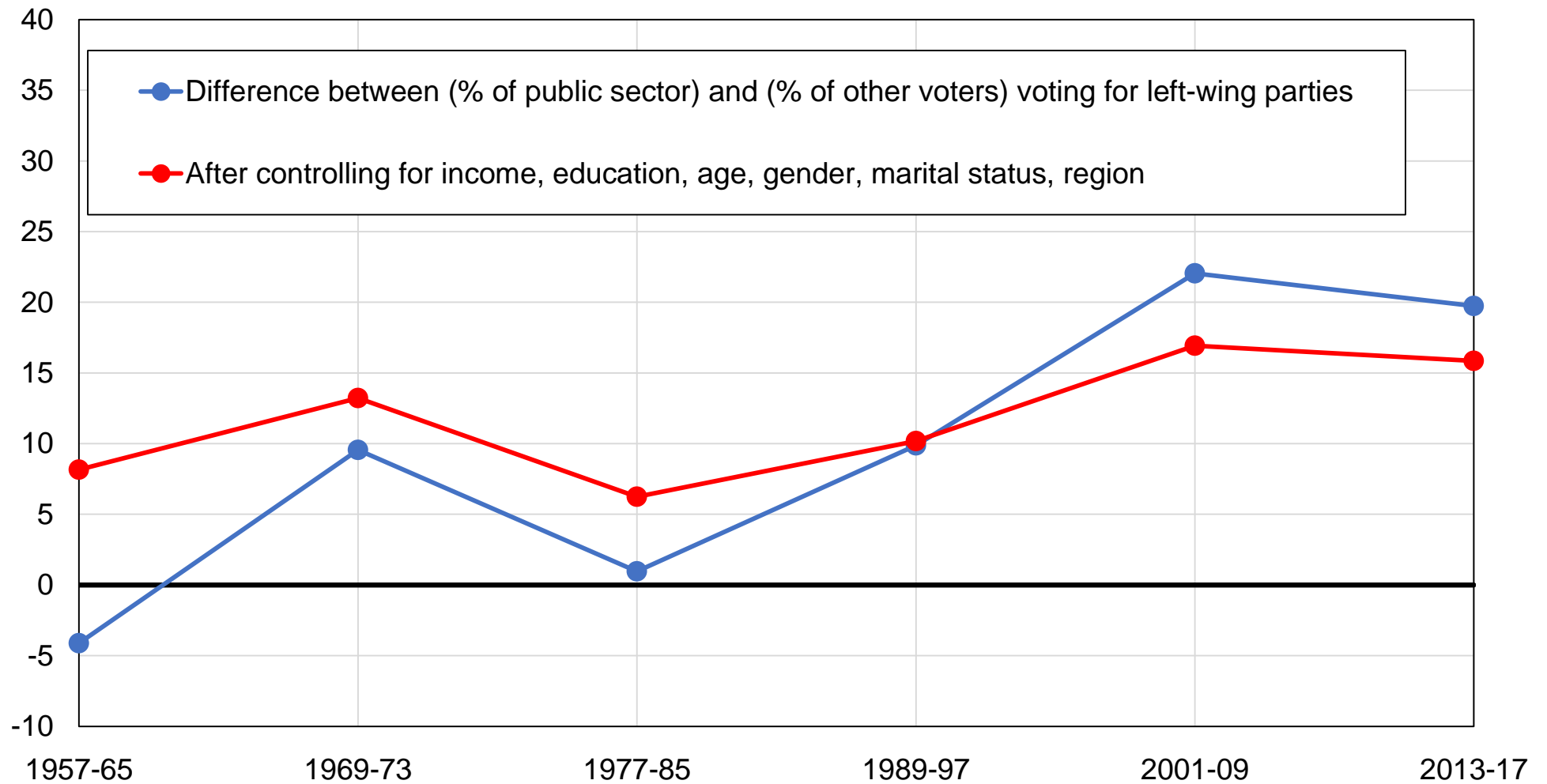
Figure AB23 - Vote for the left among young voters in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

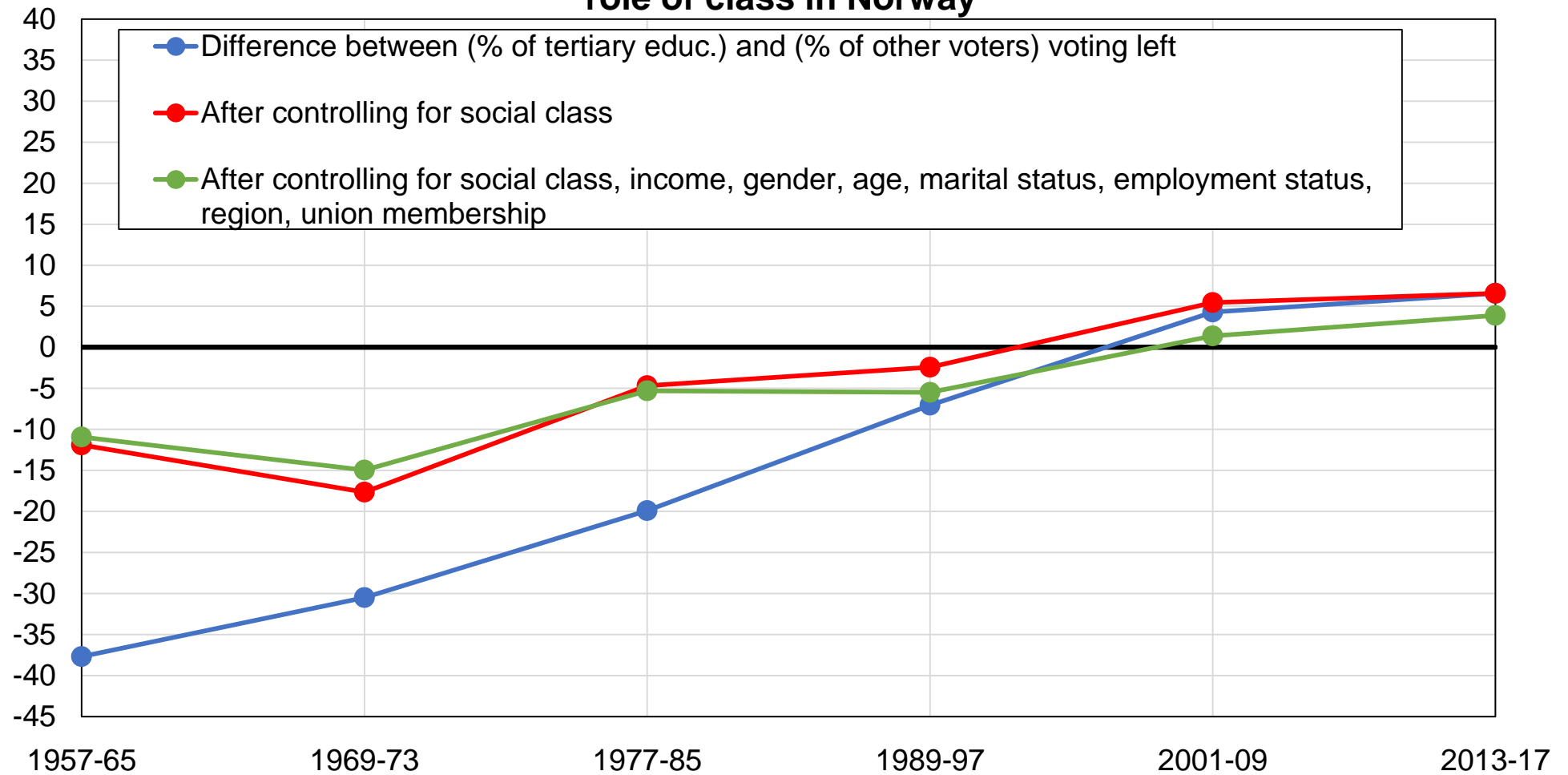
Figure AB24 - Vote for the left among public sector workers in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of public sector workers and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

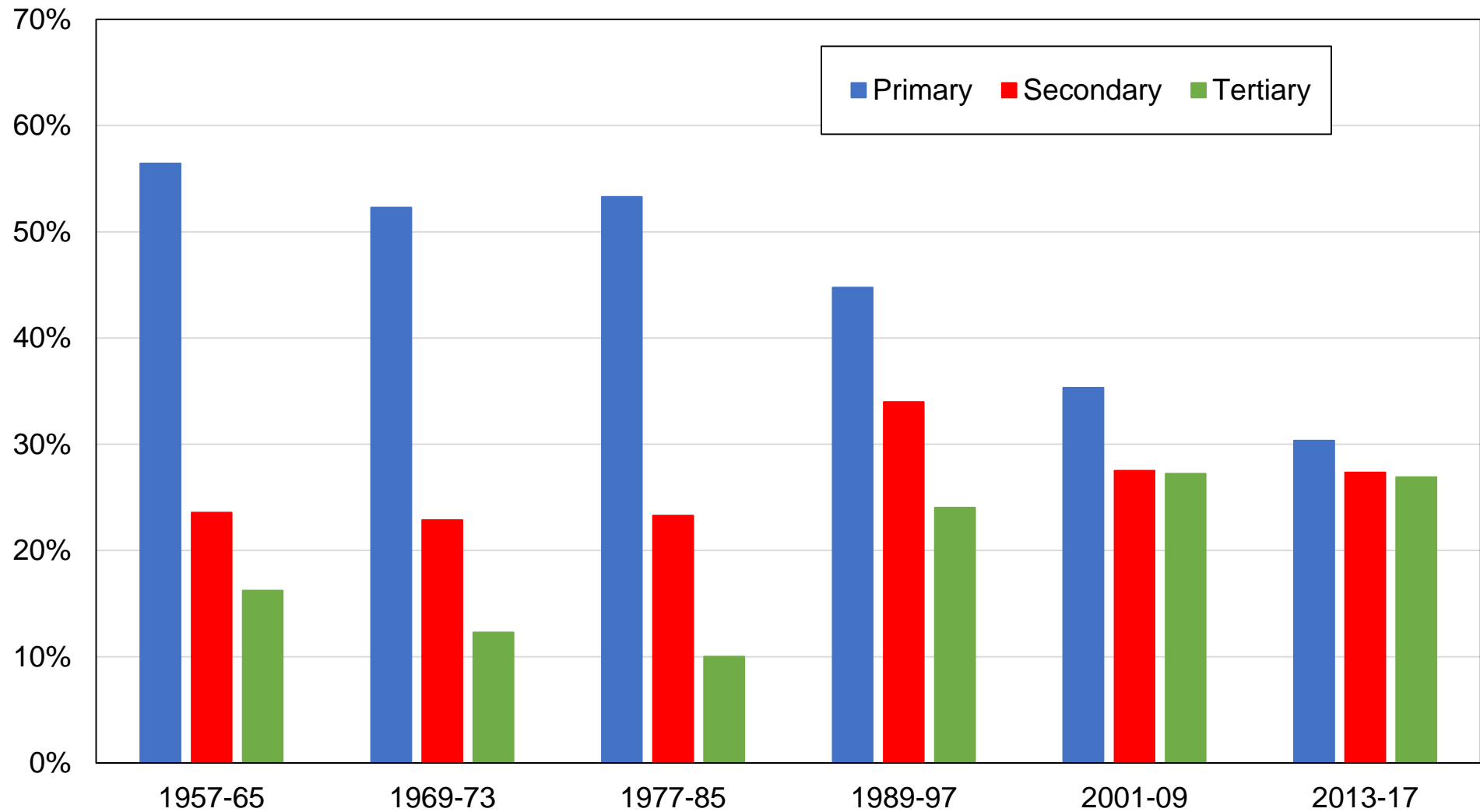
Figure AB25 - Vote for the left among the tertiary-educated voters: the role of class in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for social class and other variables.

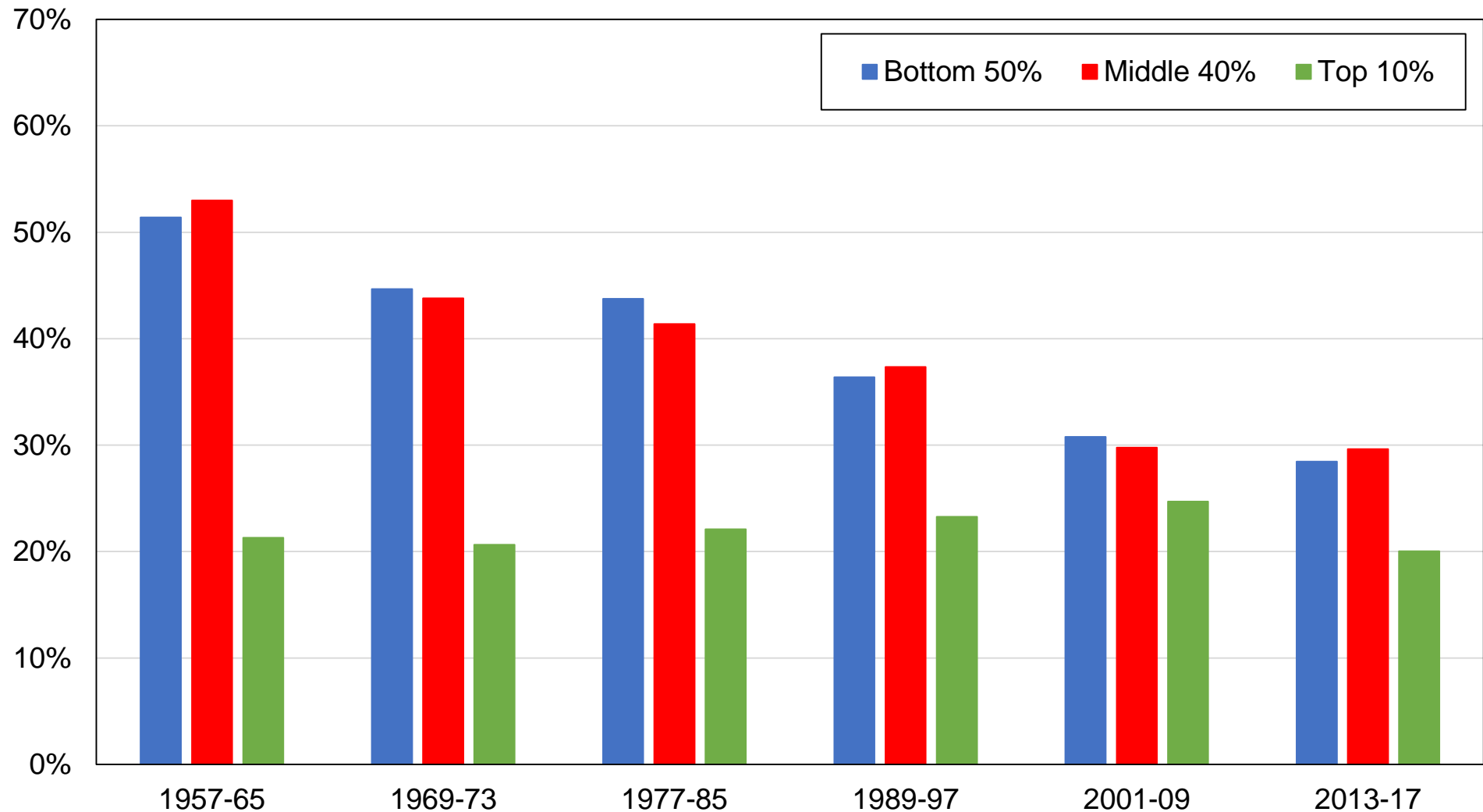
Figure AC1 - Vote for the Labour Party by education level in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by education level.

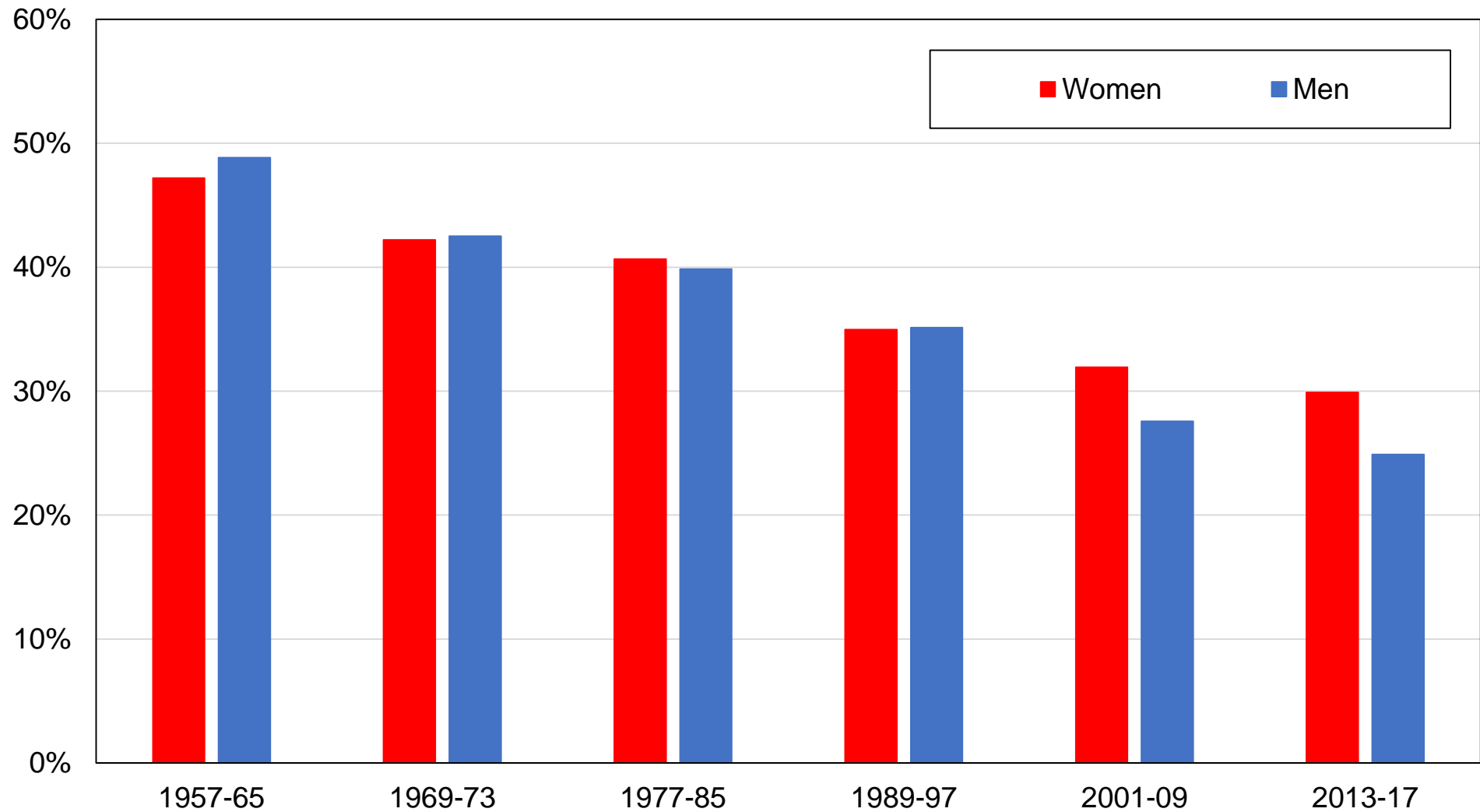
Figure AC2 - Vote for the Labour Party by income group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by income group.

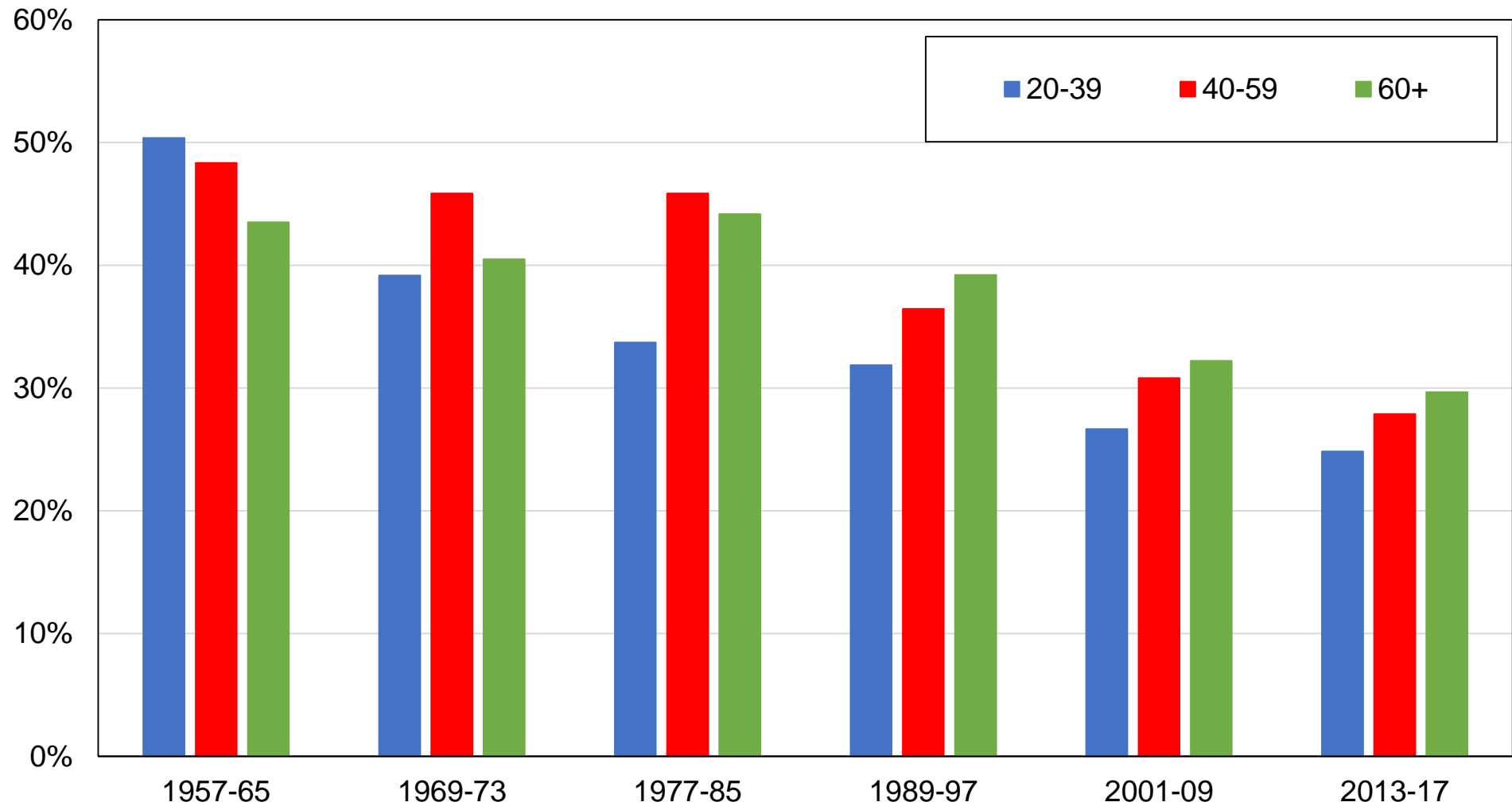
Figure AC3 - Vote for the Labour Party by gender in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by gender.

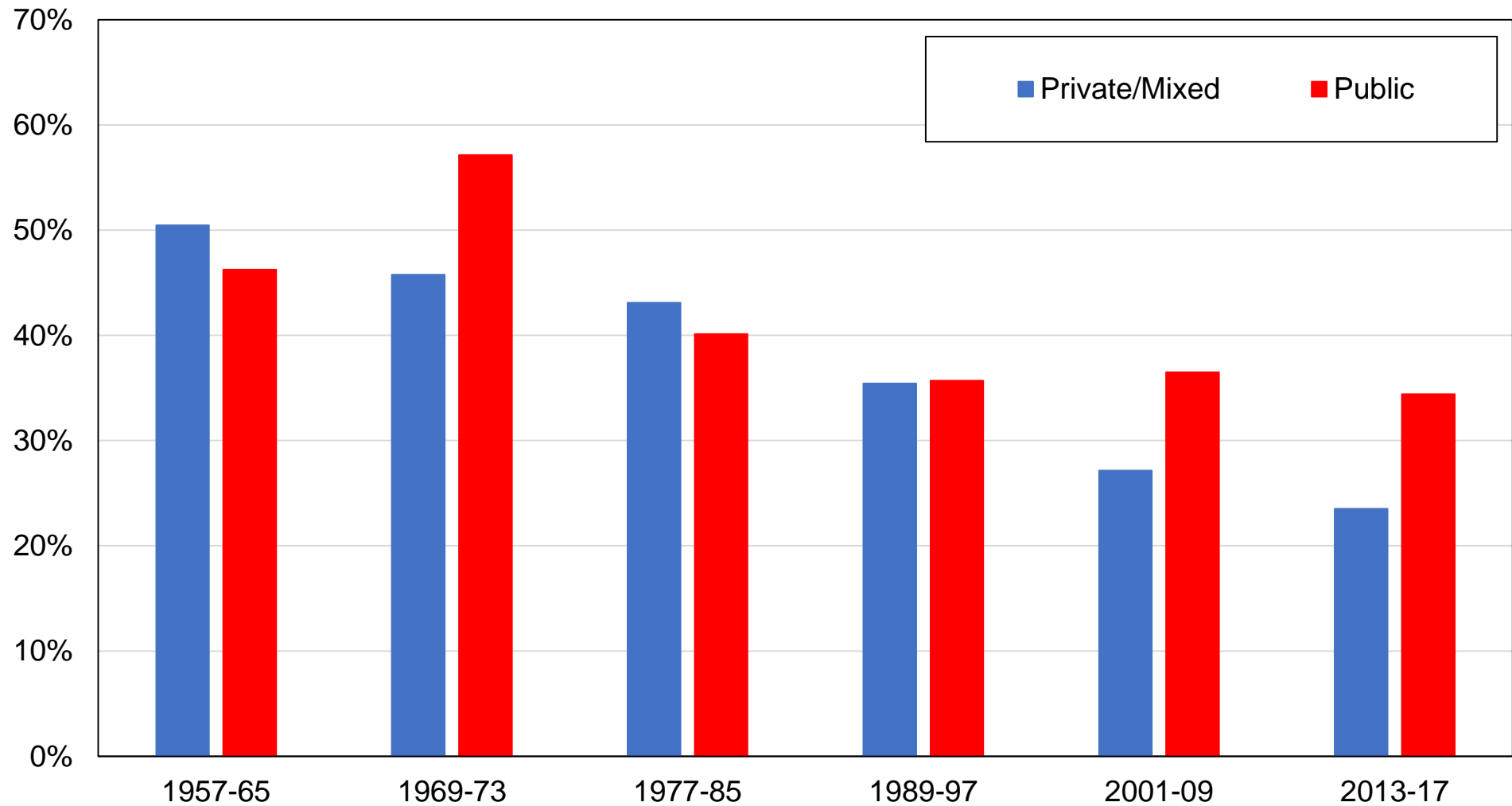
Figure AC4 - Vote for the Labour Party by age group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figures shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by age group.

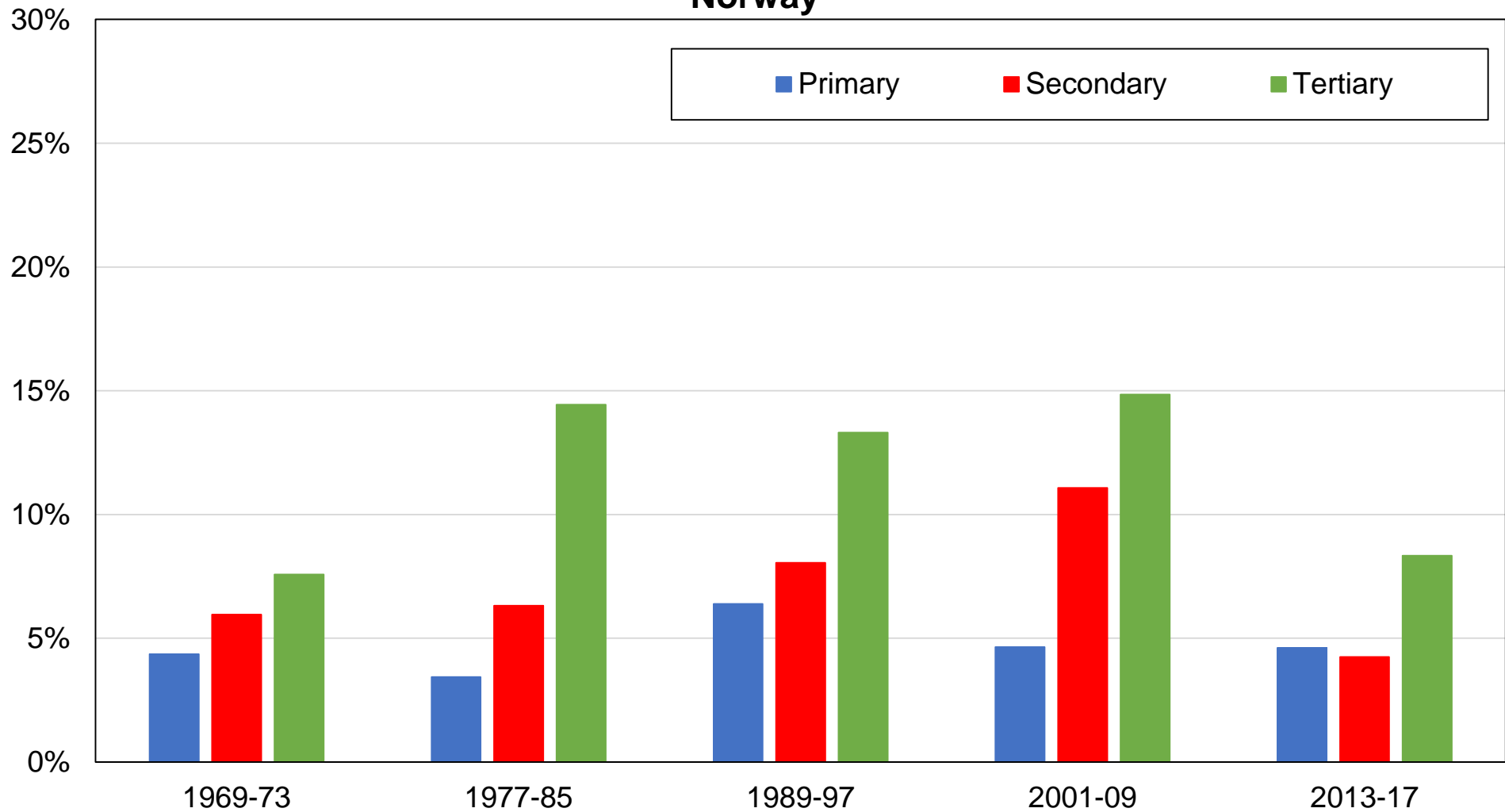
Figure AC5 - Vote for the Labour Party by sector in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figures shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by sector.

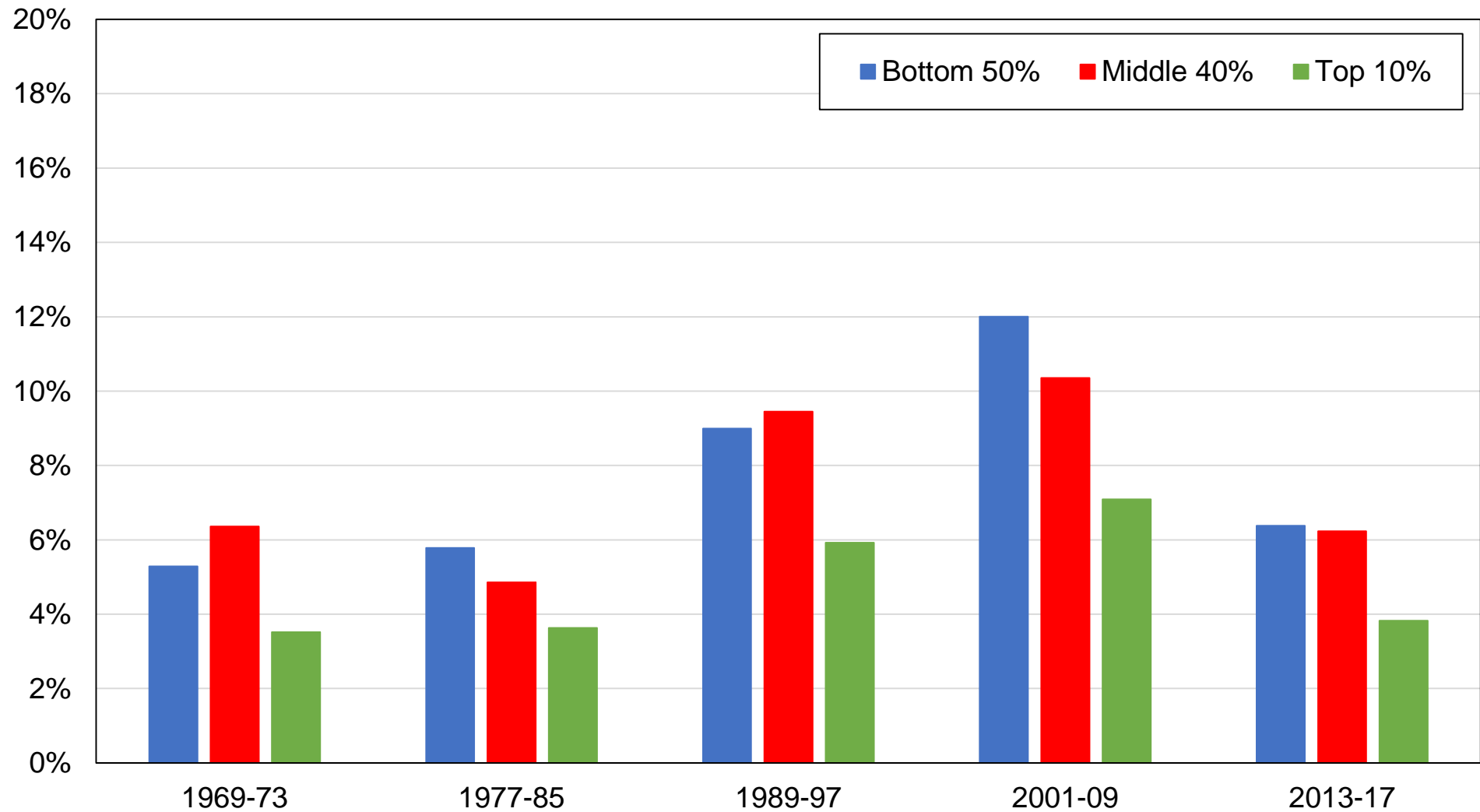
Figure AC6 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by education level in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialist Left Party by education level.

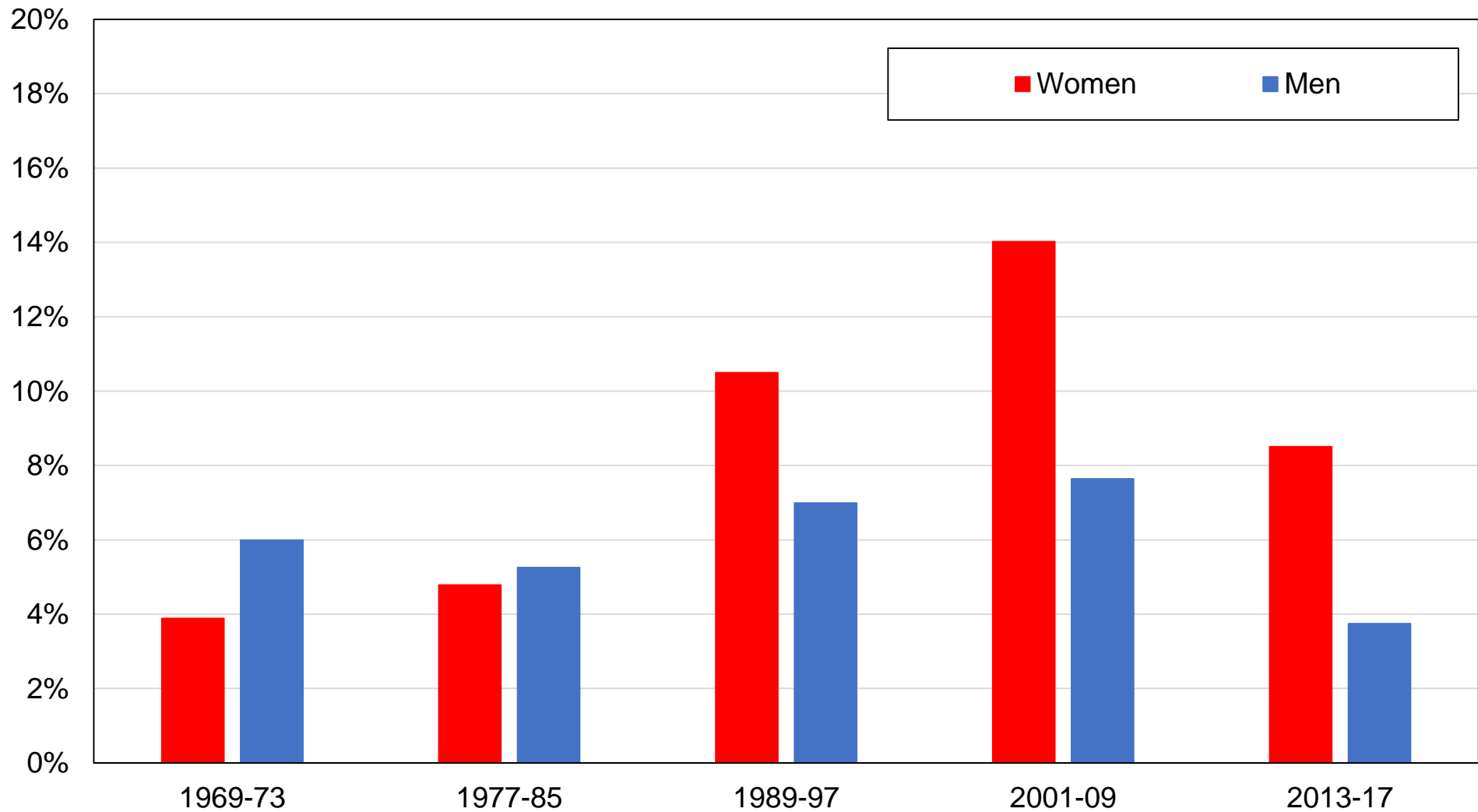
Figure AC7 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by income group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Left Party by income group.

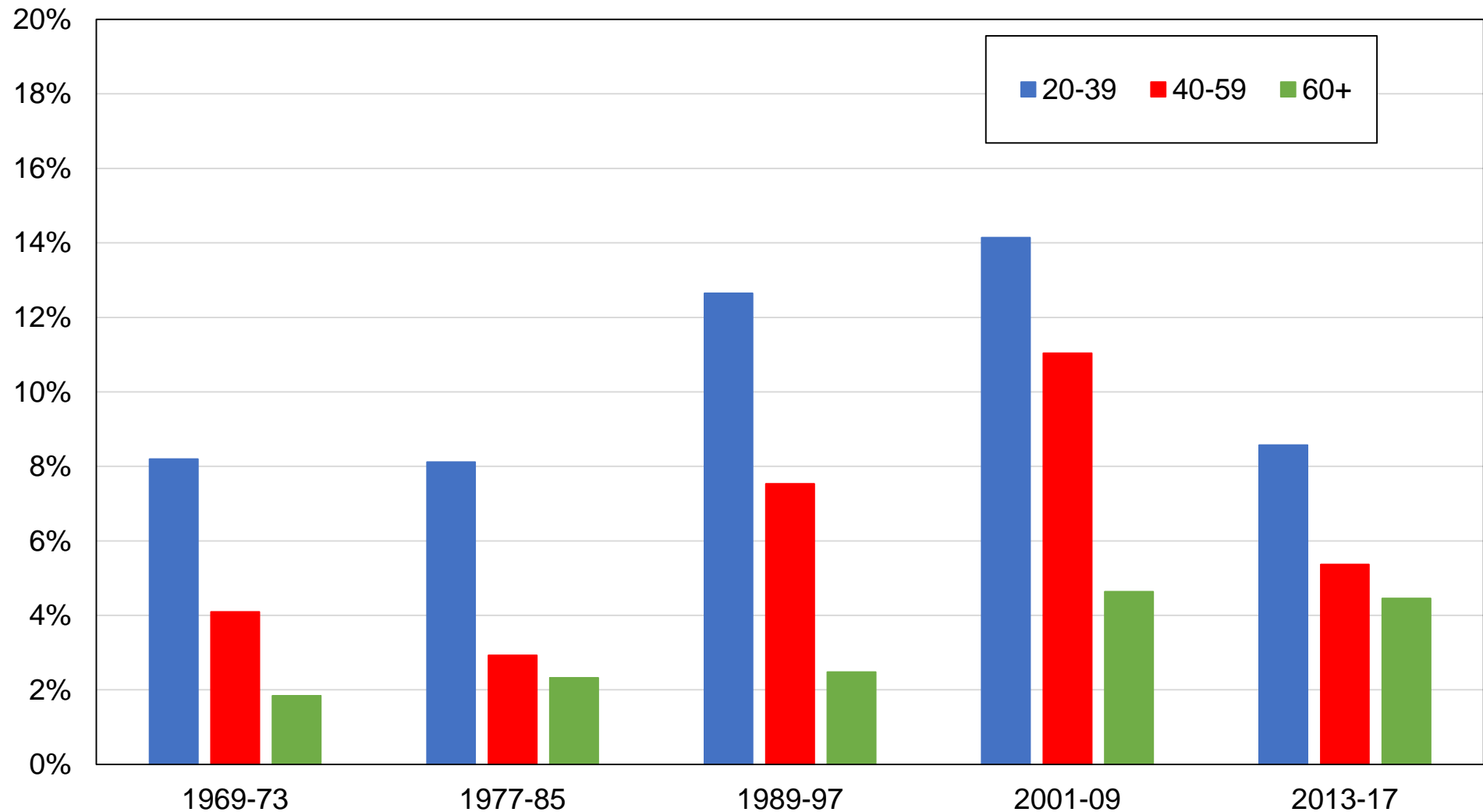
Figure AC8 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by gender in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Left Party by gender.

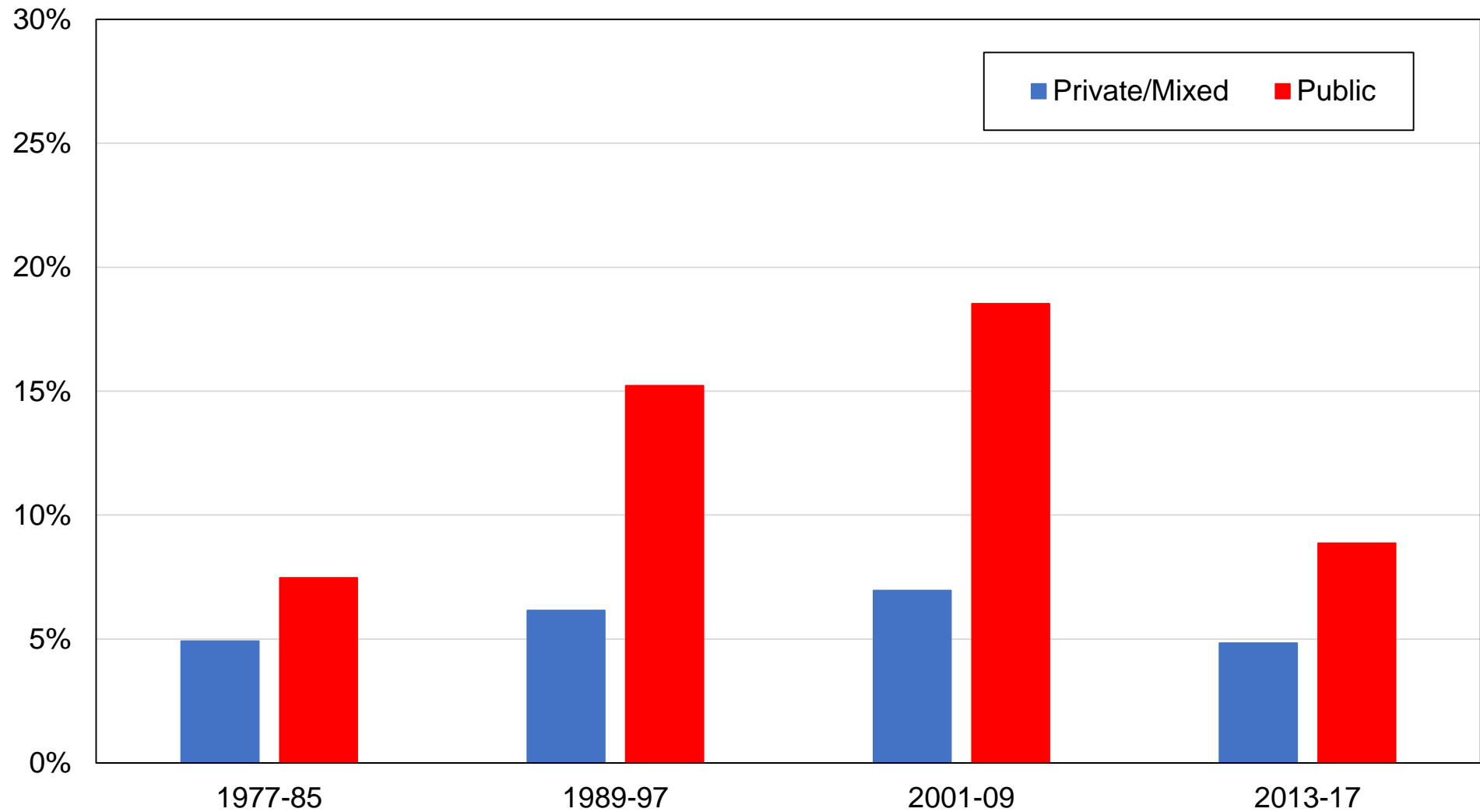
Figure AC9 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by age group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Left Party by age group.

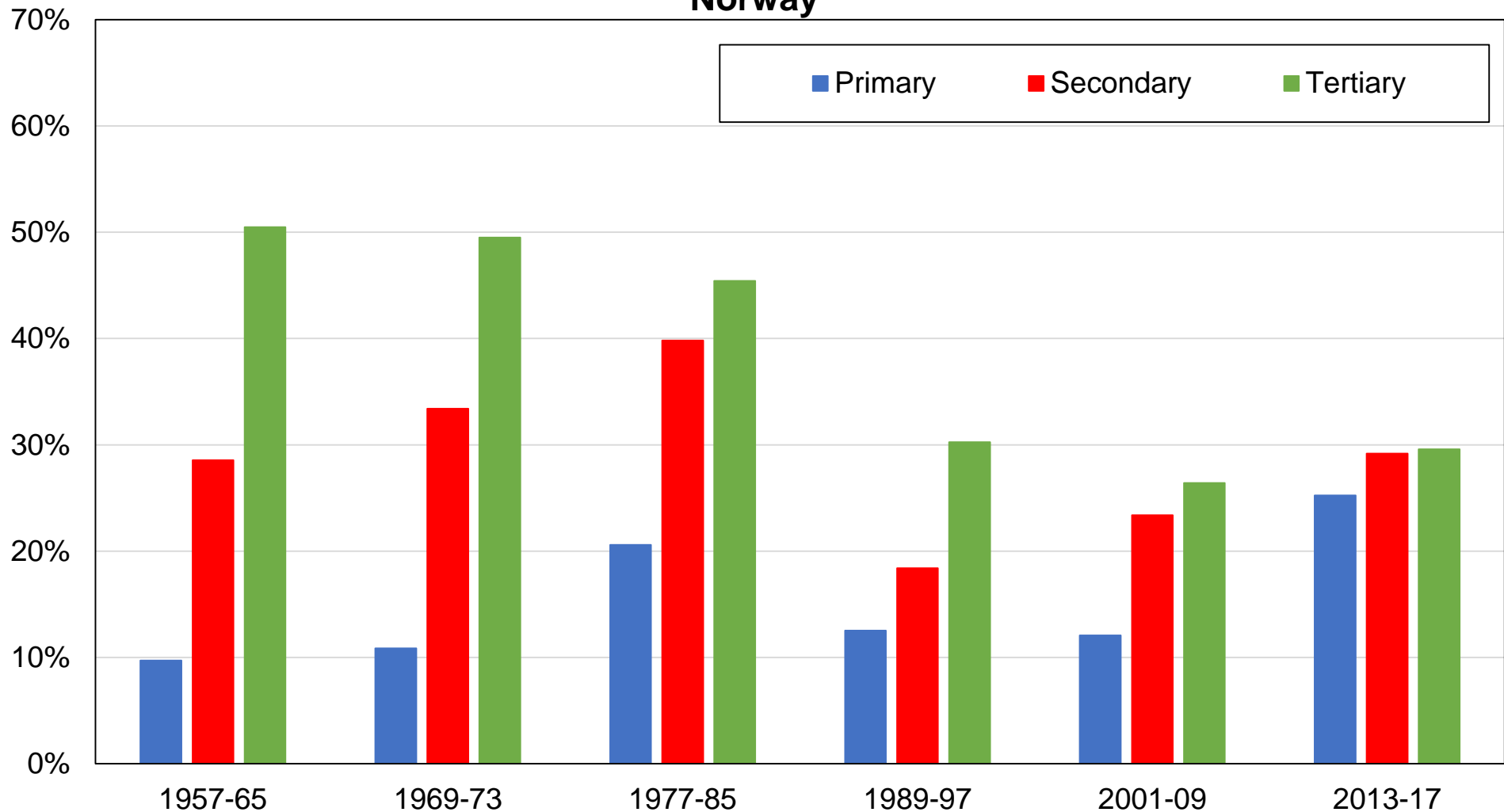
Figure AC10 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by sector in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Left Party by sector.

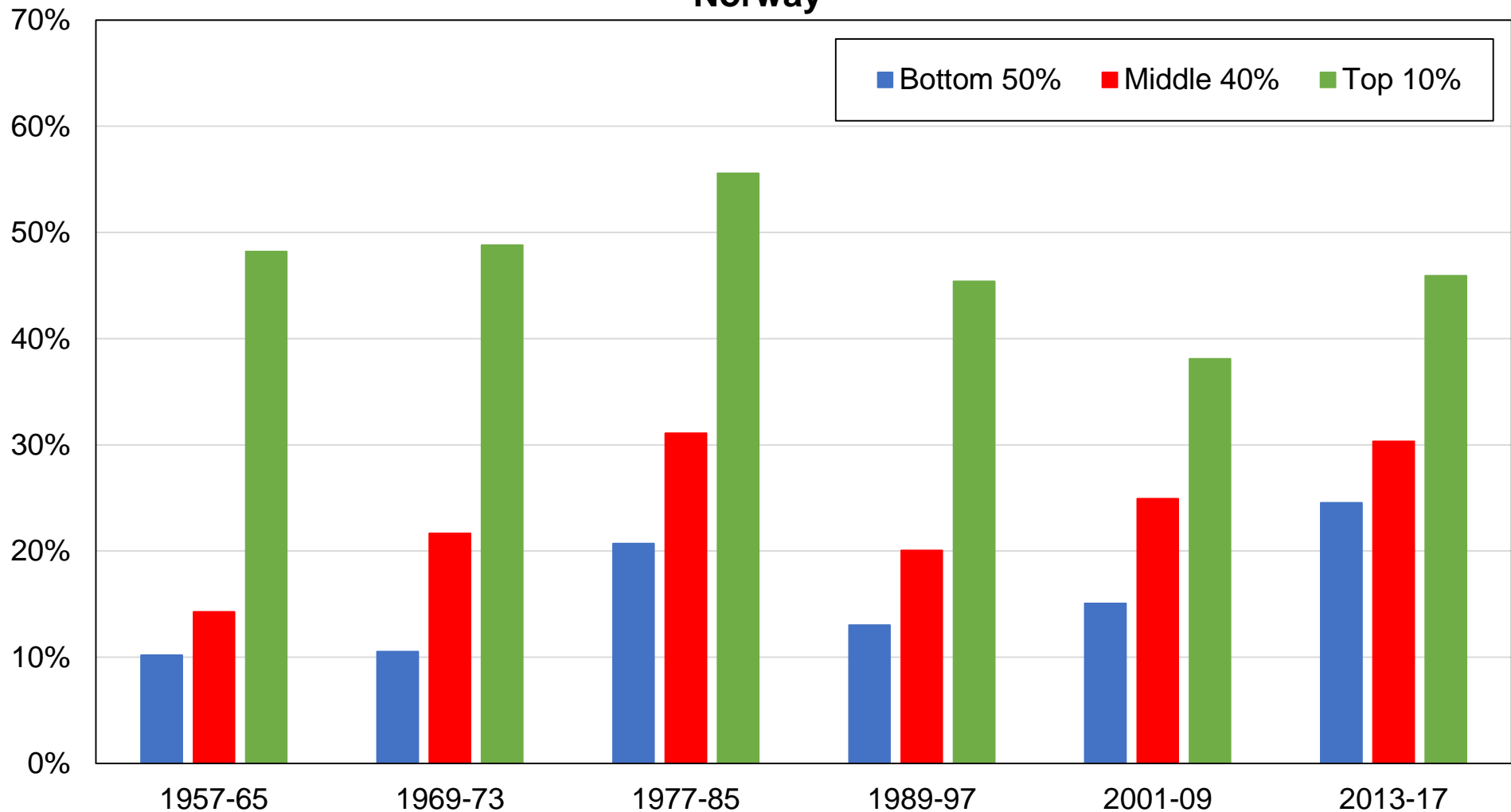
Figure AC11 - Vote for the Conservative Party by education level in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by education level.

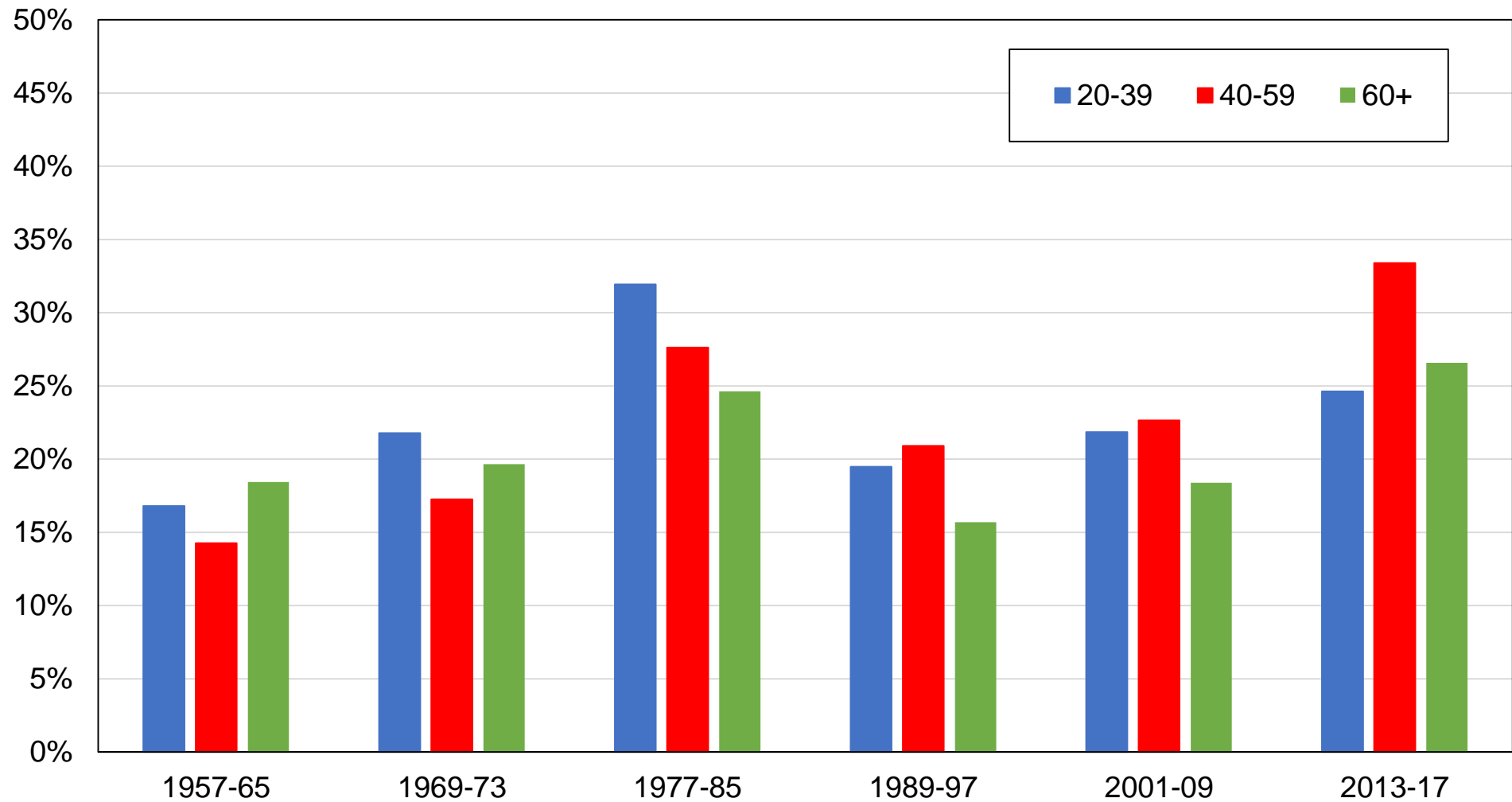
Figure AC12 - Vote for the Conservative Party by income group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by income group.

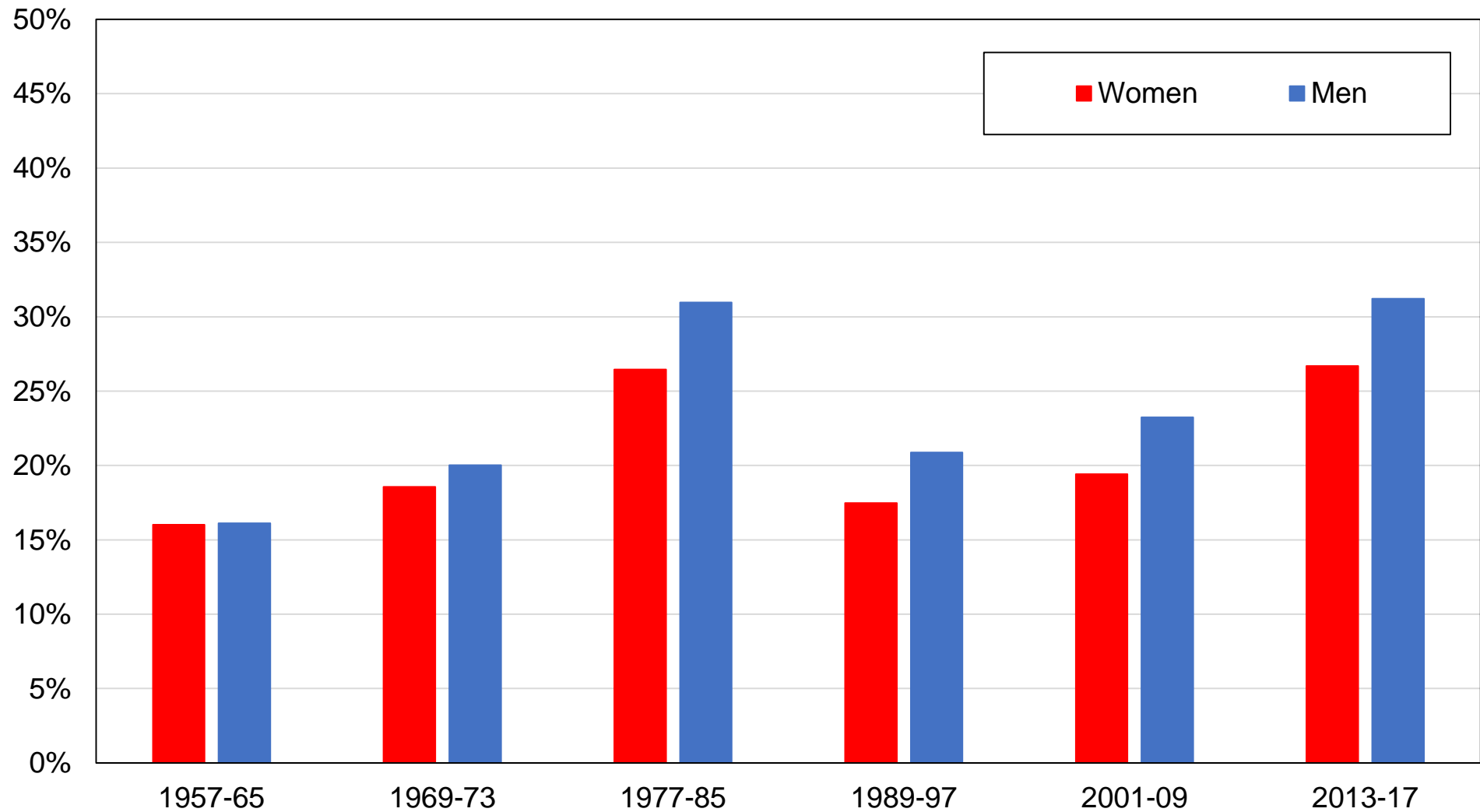
Figure AC13 - Vote for the Conservative Party by age group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by age group.

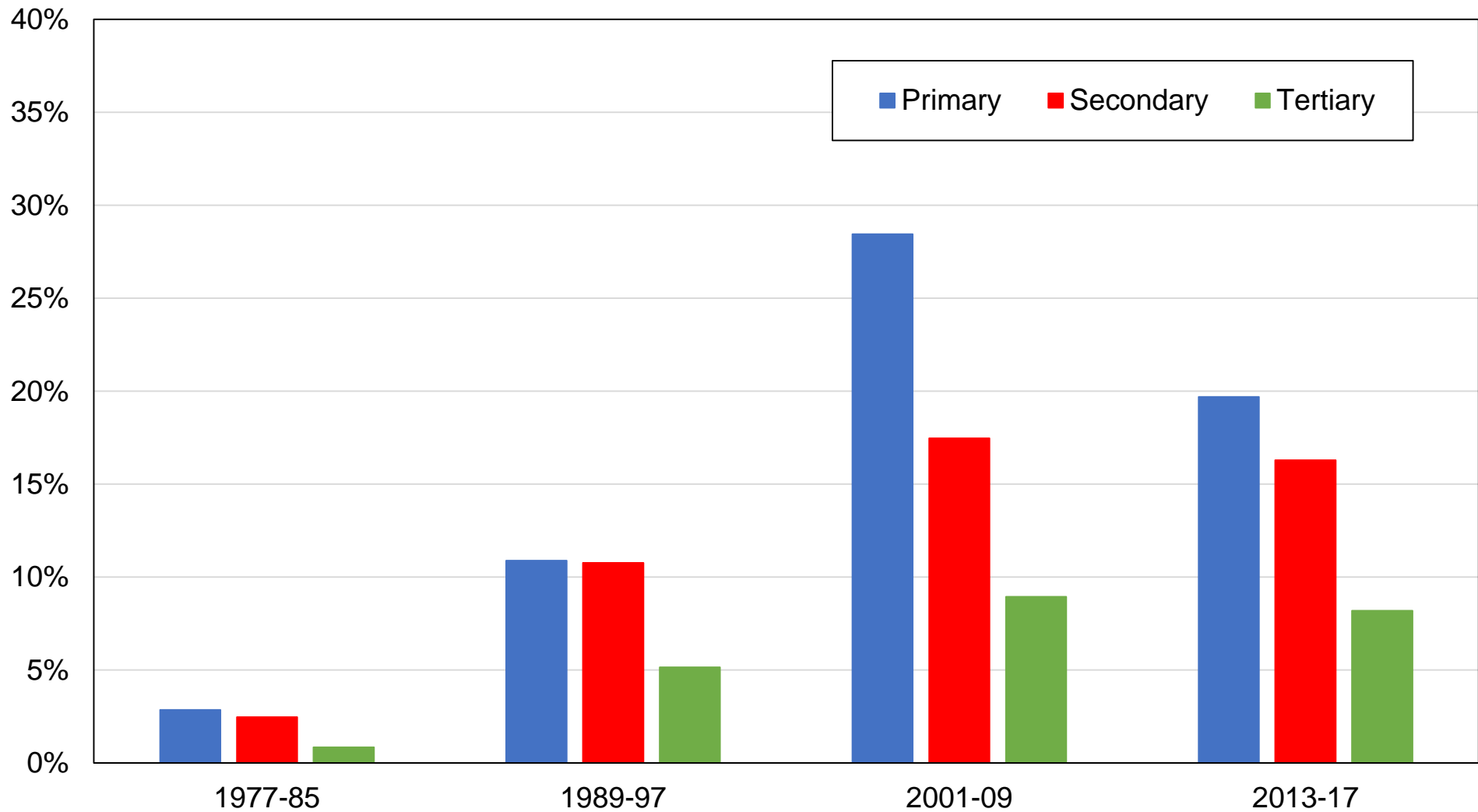
Figure AC14 - Vote for the Conservative Party by gender in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by gender.

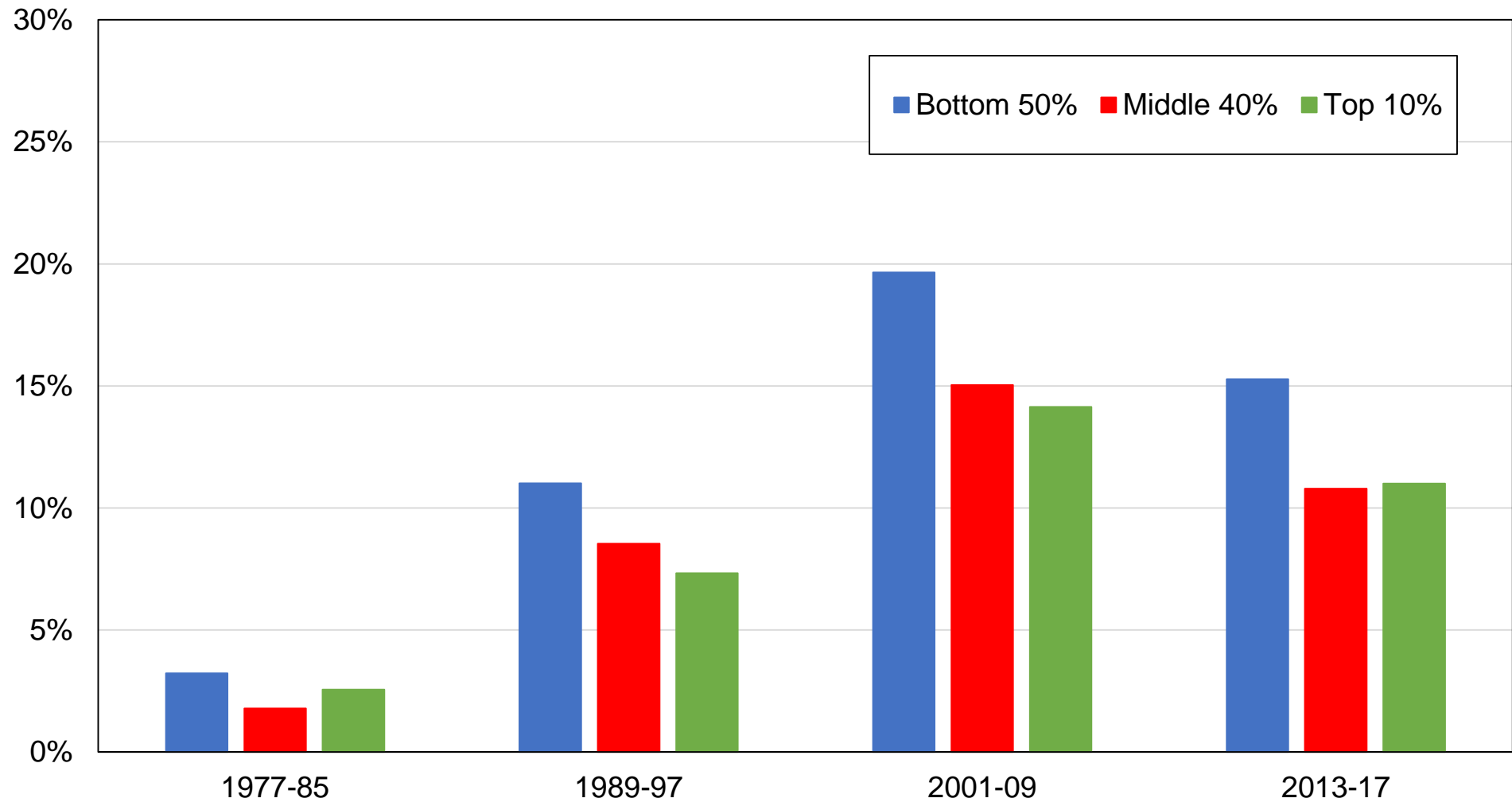
Figure AC15 - Vote for the Progress Party by education level in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progress Party by education level.

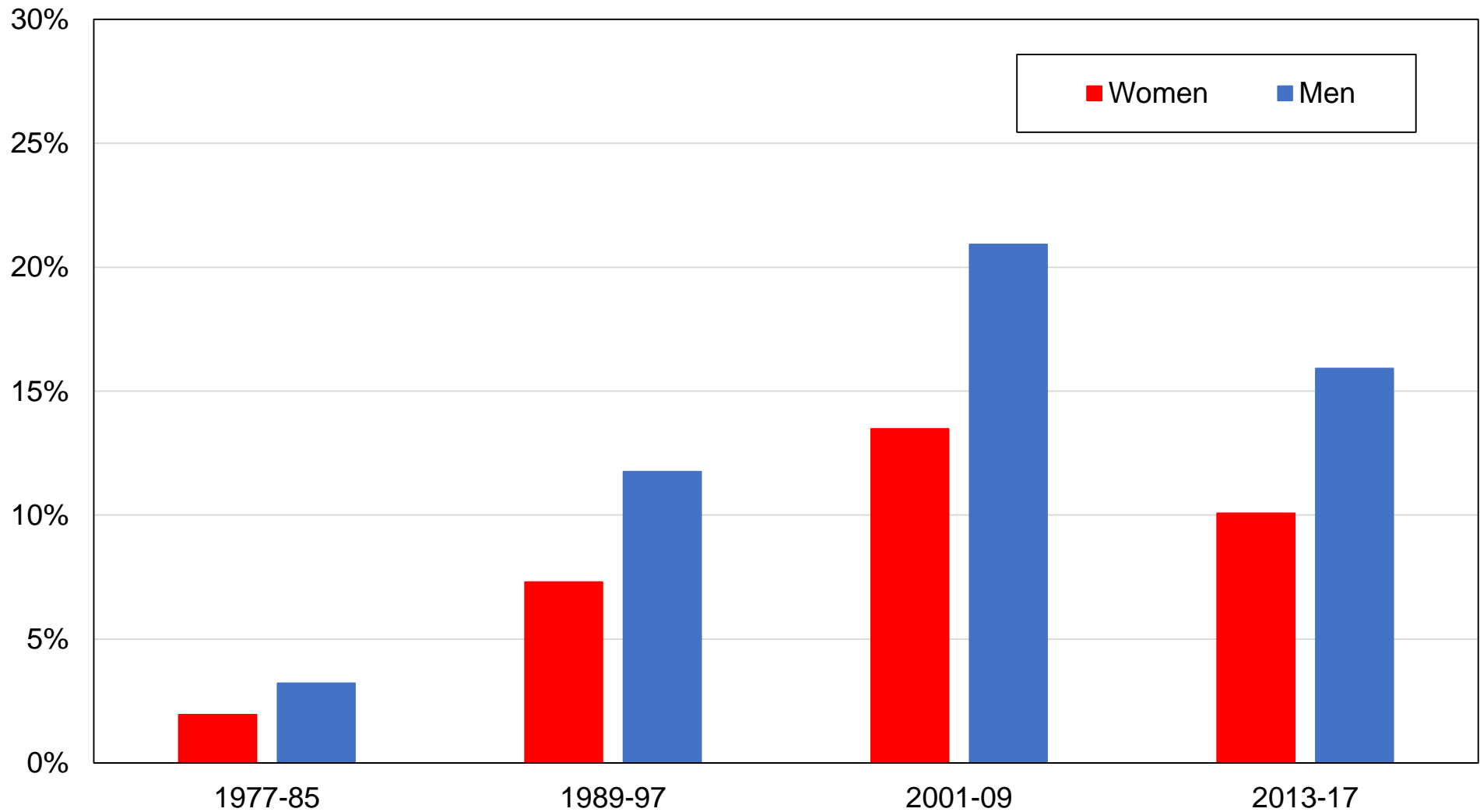
Figure AC16 - Vote for the Progress Party by income group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progress Party by income group.

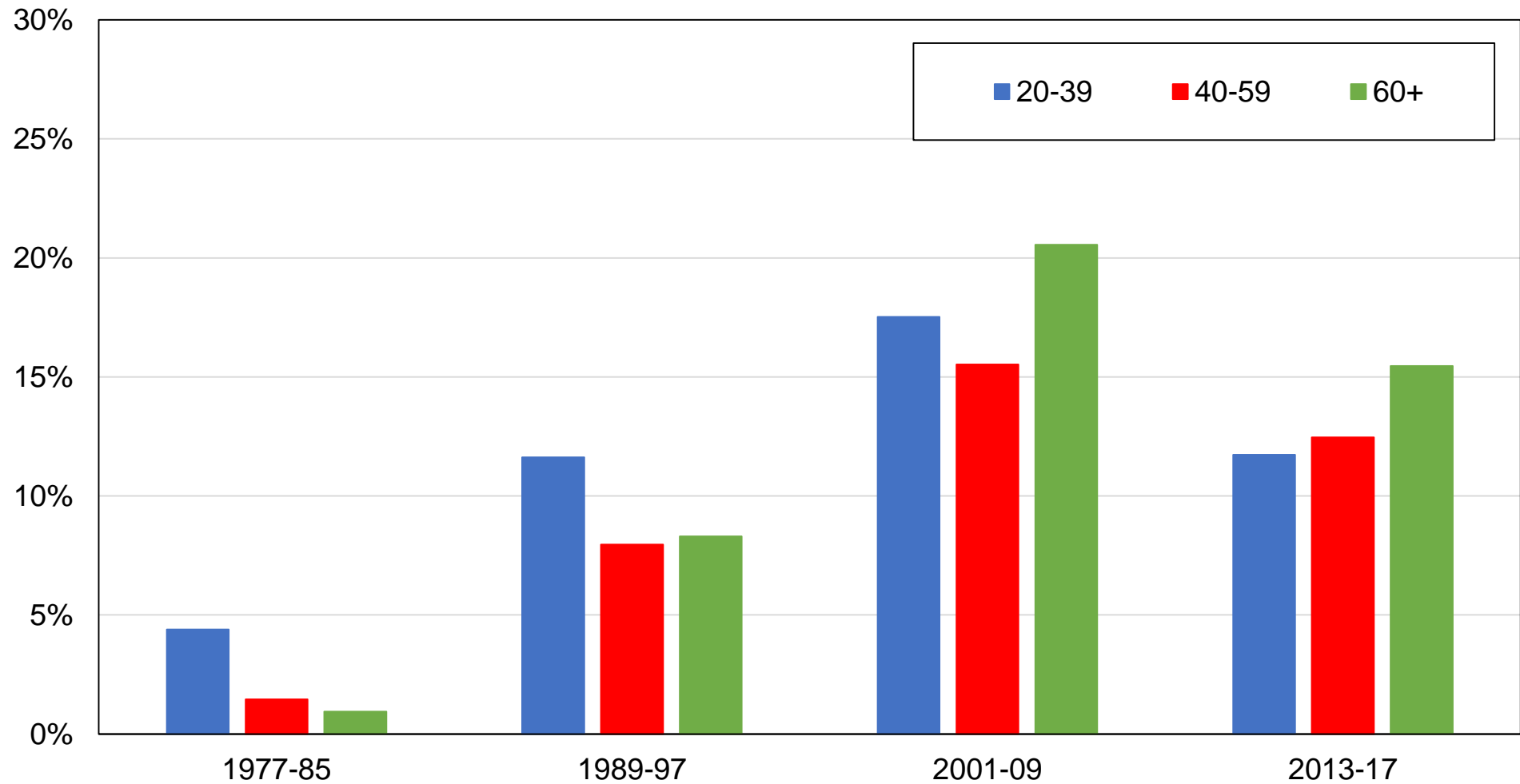
Figure AC17 - Vote for the Progress Party by gender in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progress Party by gender.

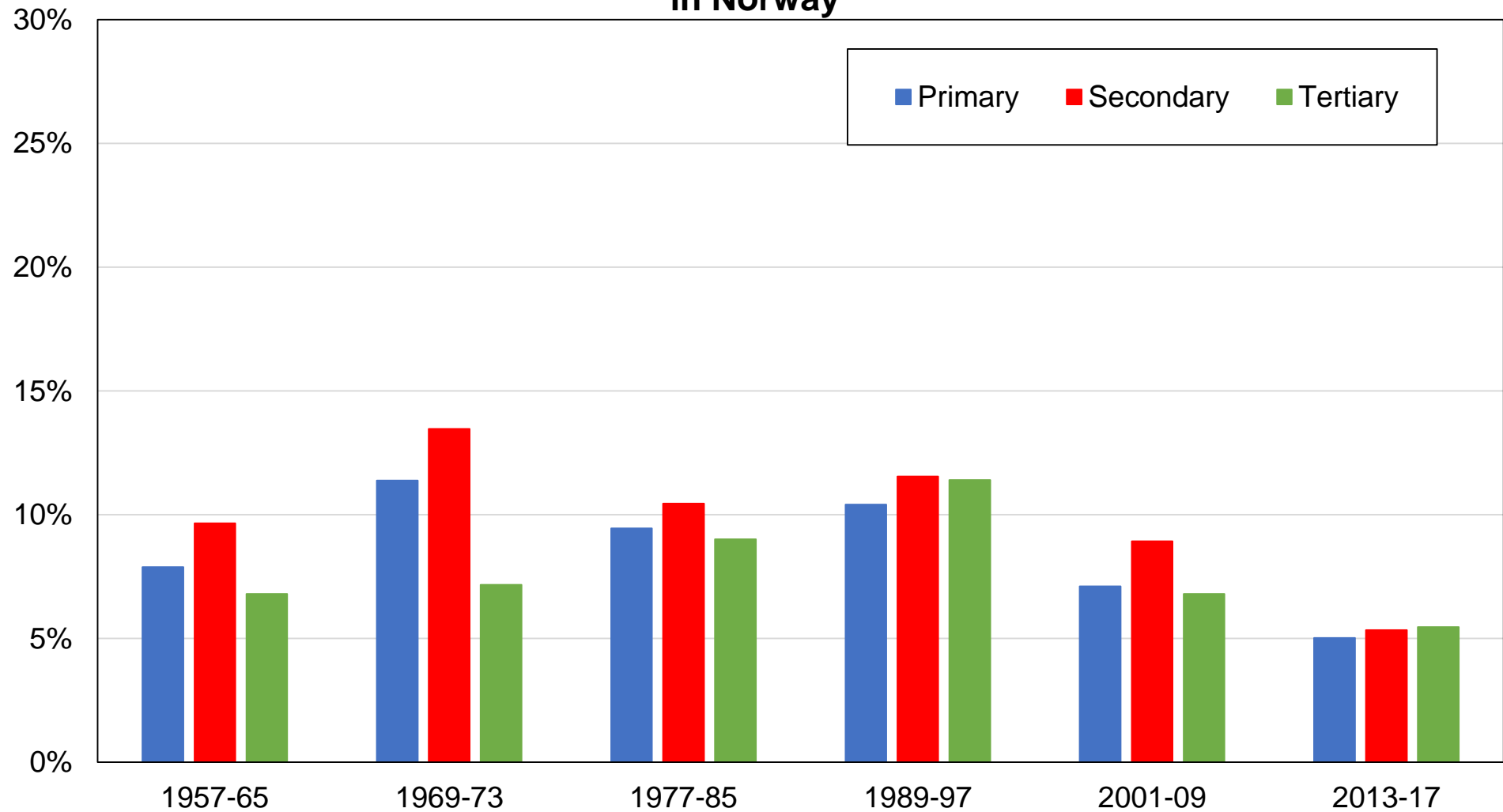
Figure AC18- Vote for the Progress Party by age group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progress Party by age group.

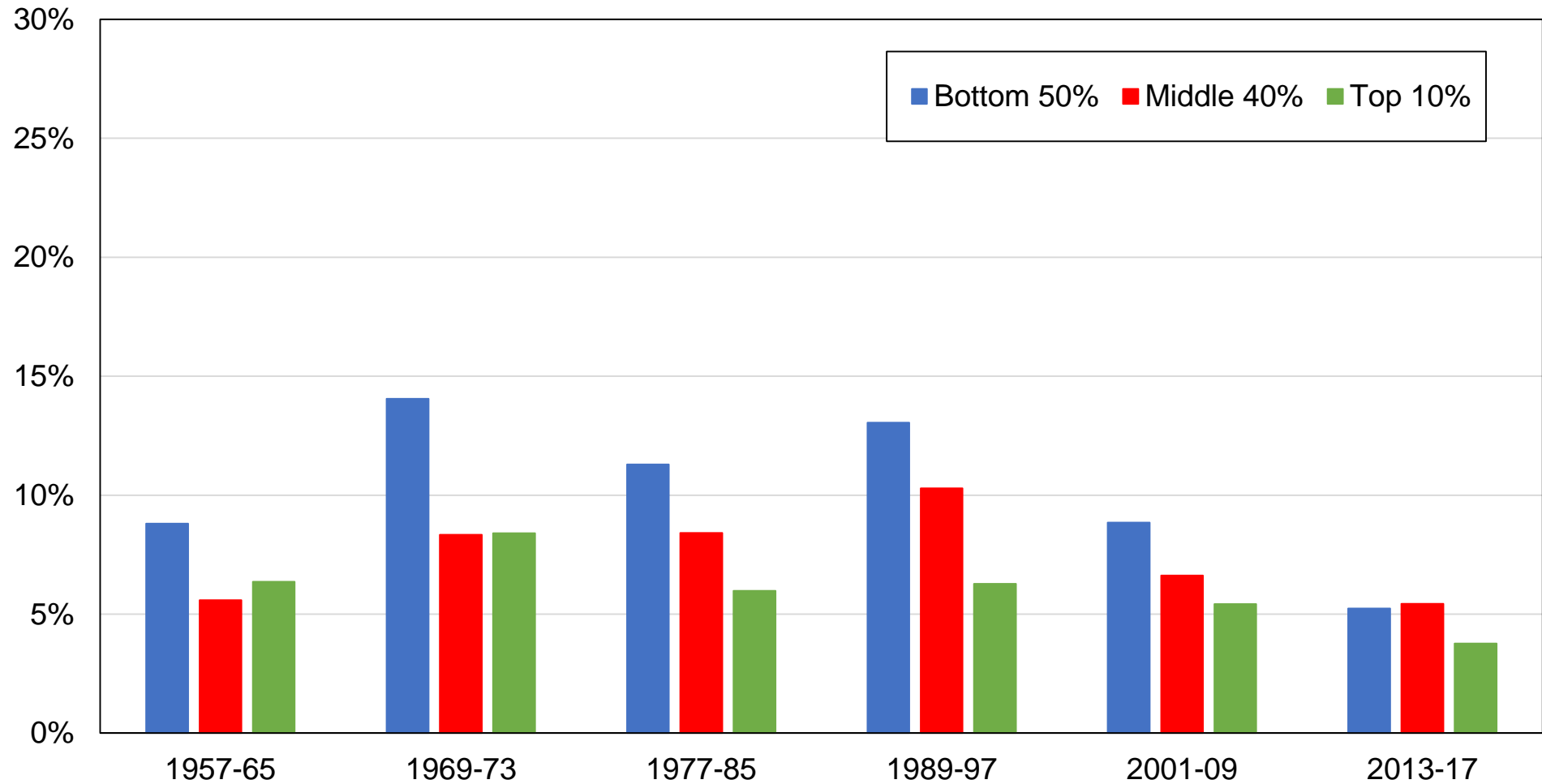
Figure AC19 - Vote for the Christian Democratic Party by education level in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Party by education level.

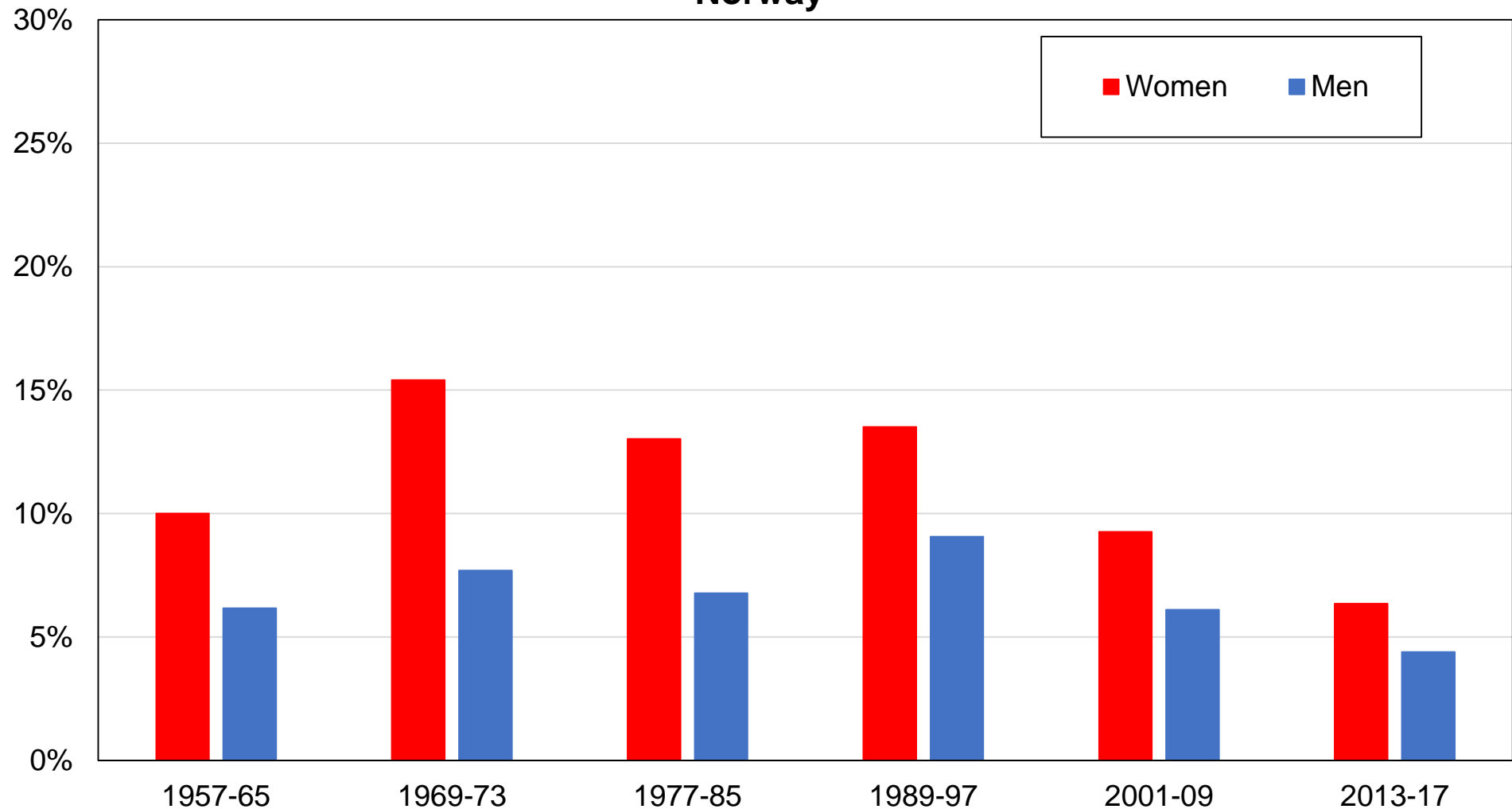
Figure AC20 - Vote for the Christian Democratic Party by income group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Party by income group.

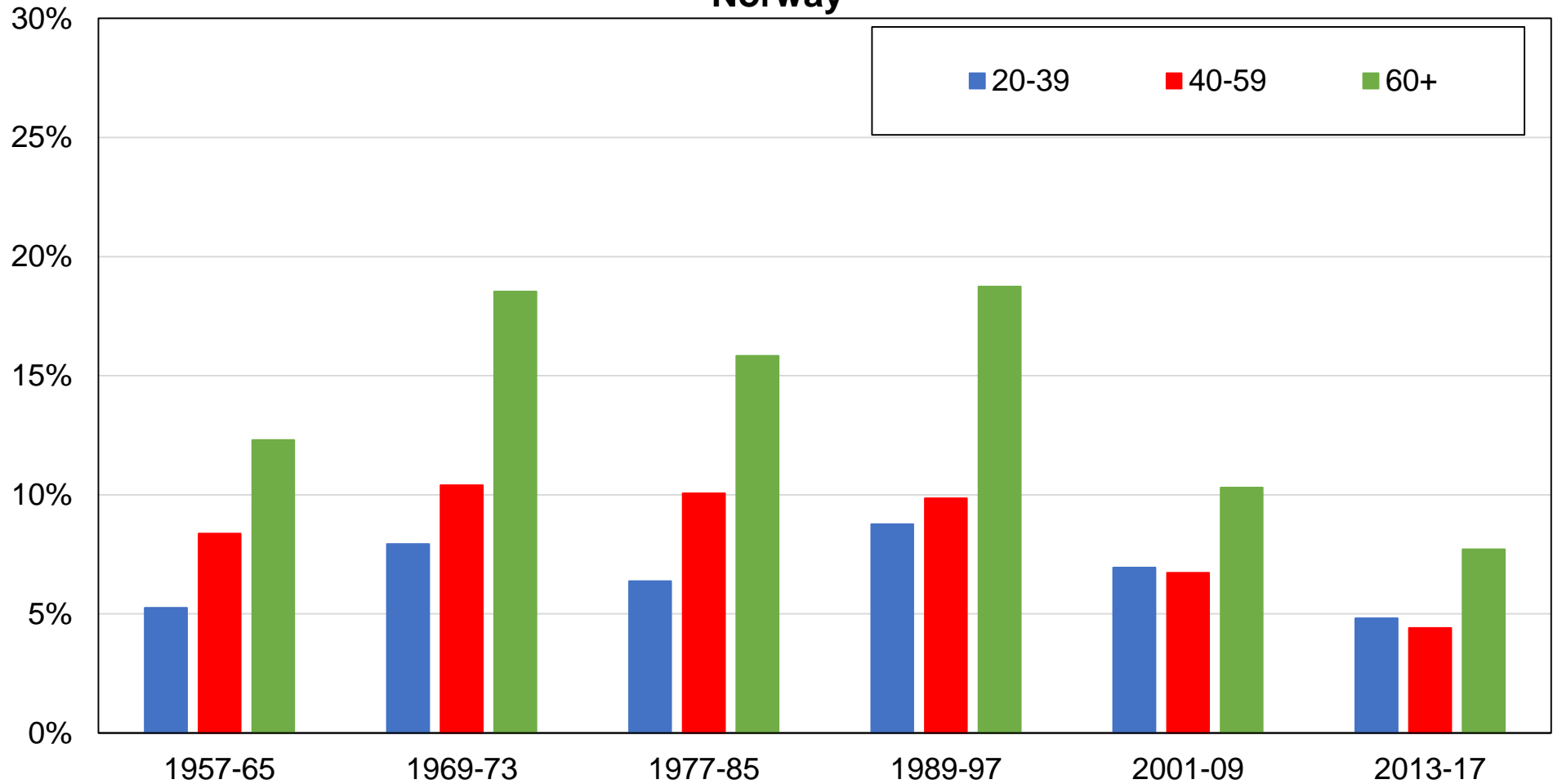
Figure AC21 - Vote for the Christian Democratic Party by gender in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Party by gender.

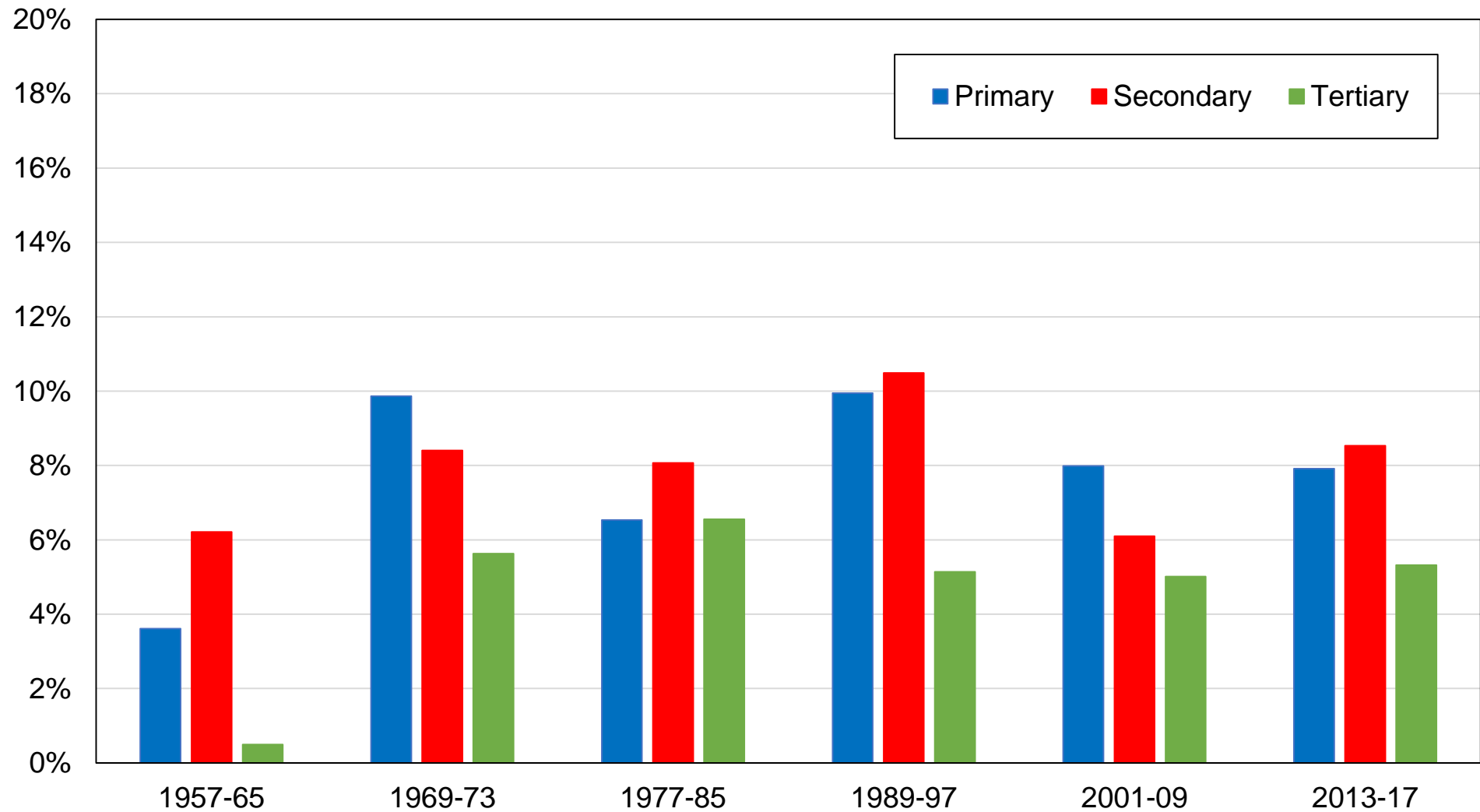
Figure AC22- Vote for the Christian Democratic Party by age group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Party by age group.

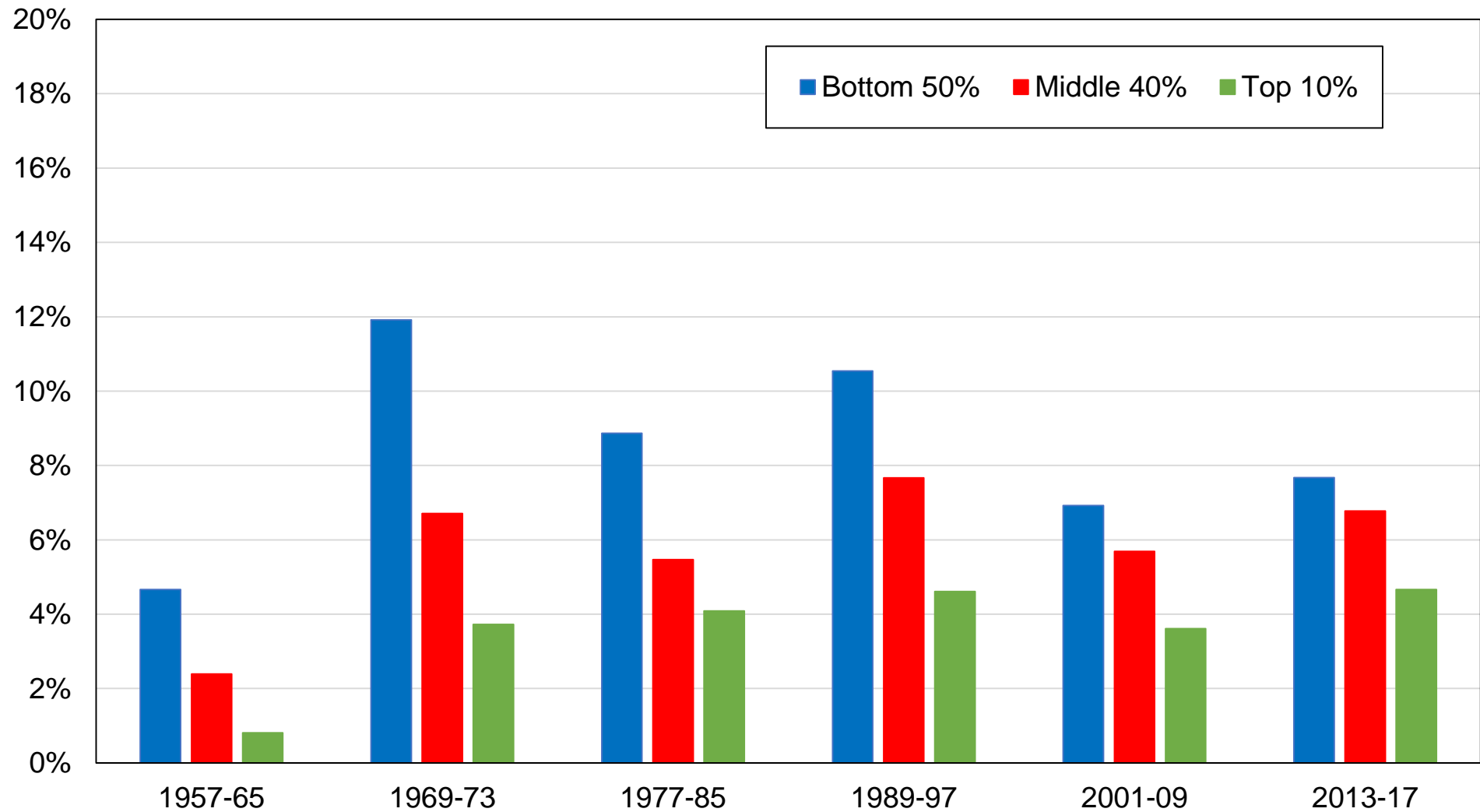
Figure AC23 - Vote for the Centre Party by educational level in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by educational level.

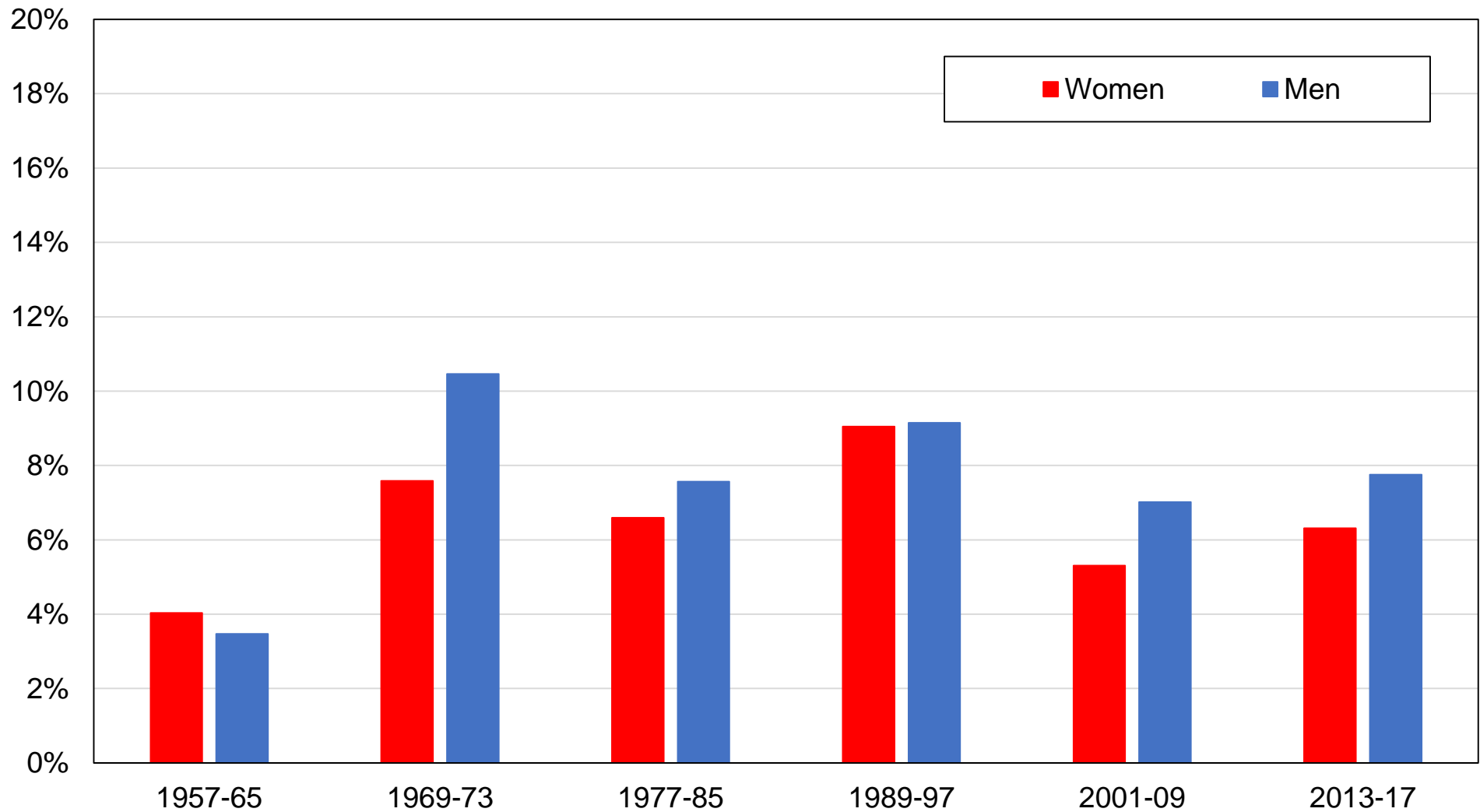
Figure AC24 - Vote for the Centre Party by income group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by income group.

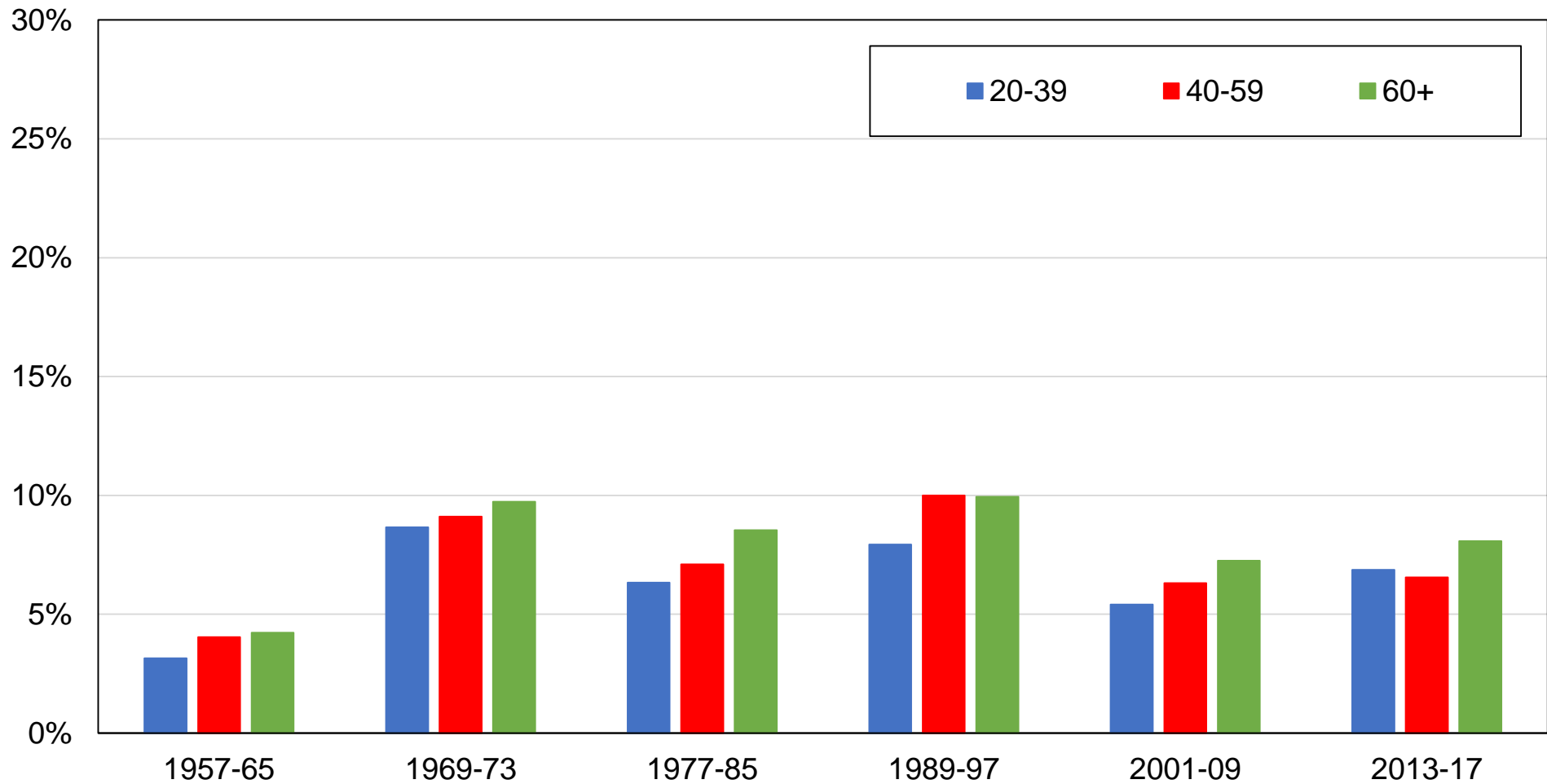
Figure AC25 - Vote for the Centre Party by gender in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by gender.

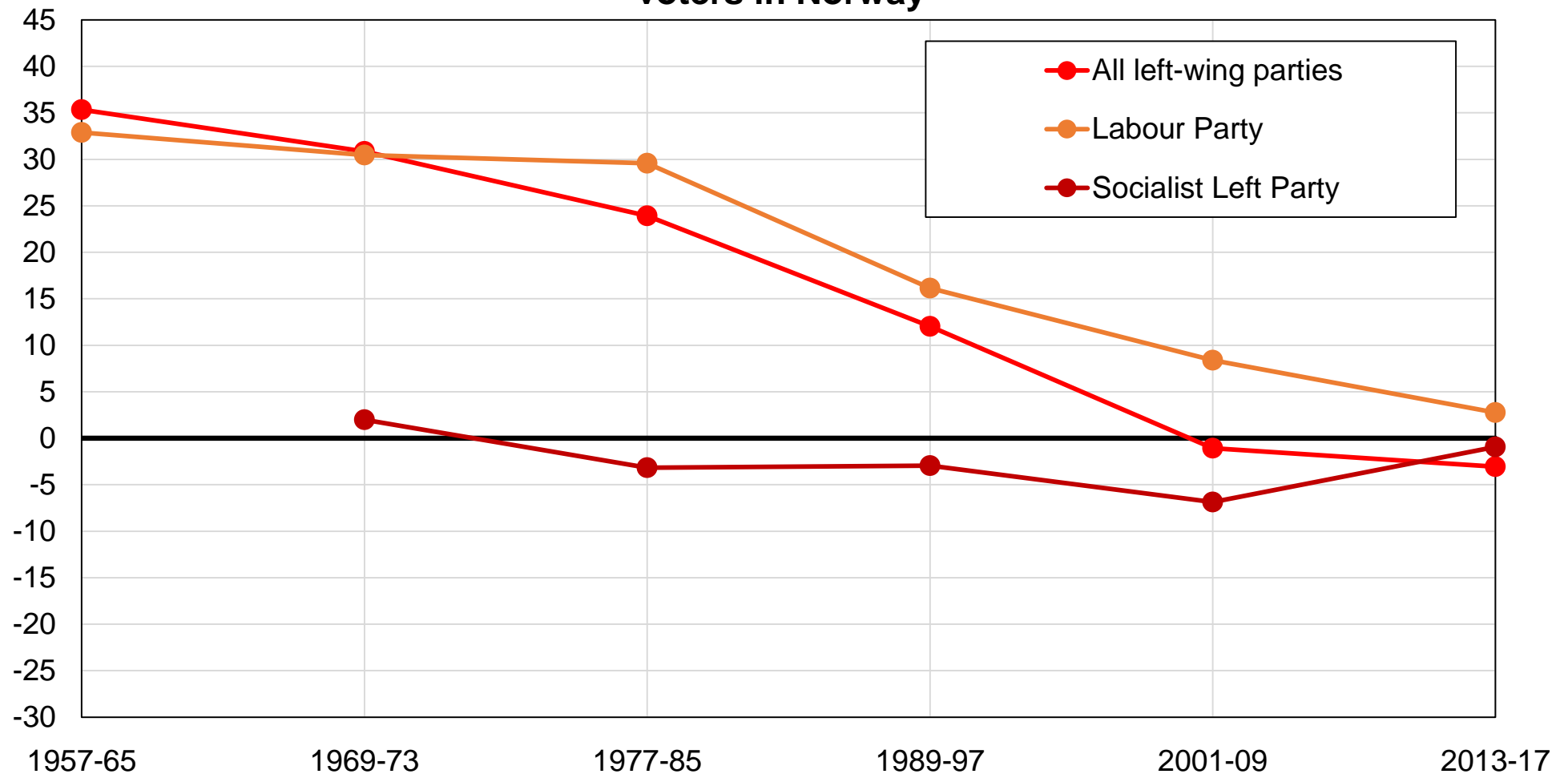
Figure AC26- Vote for the Centre Party by age group in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by age group.

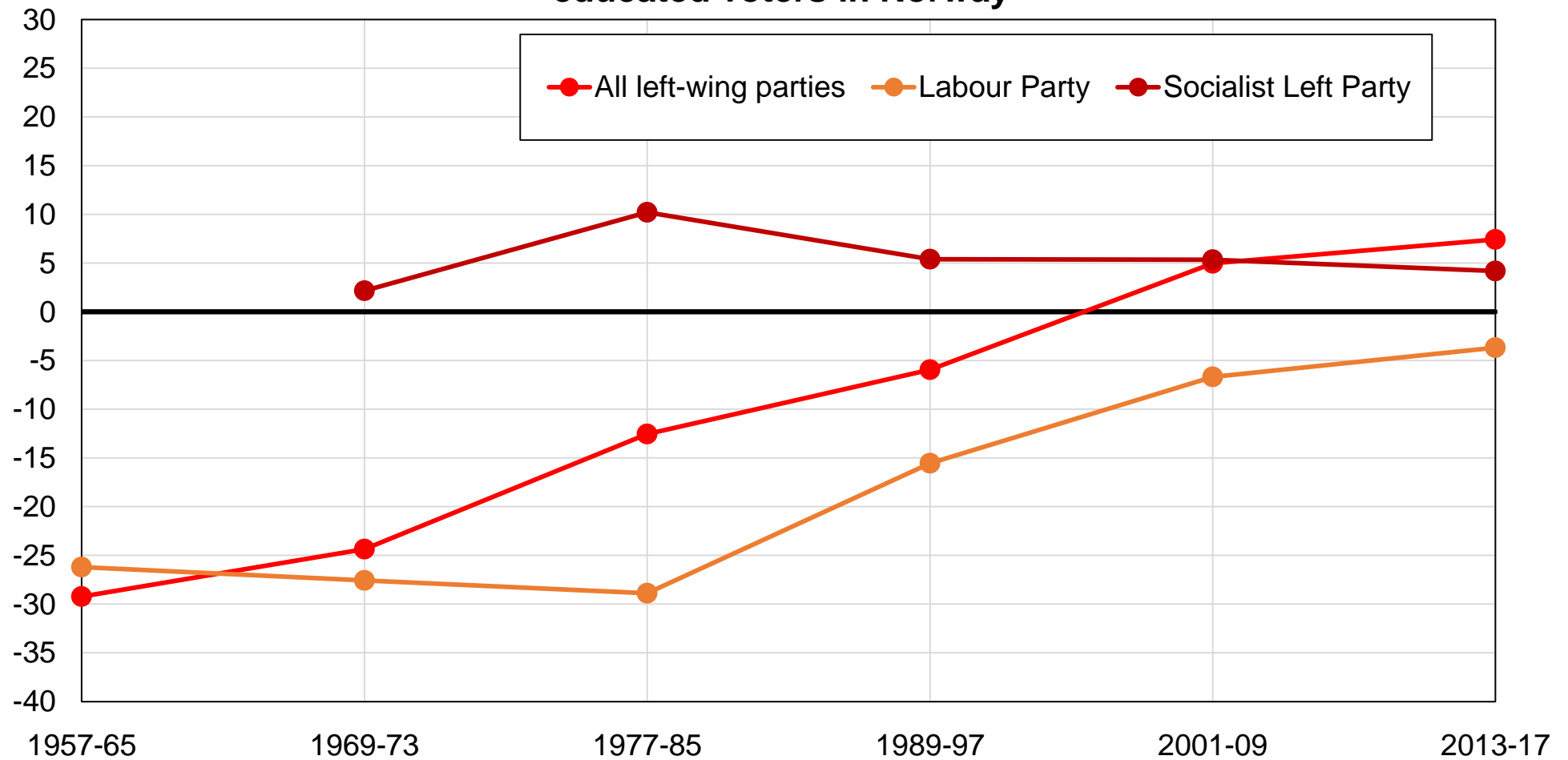
AC27- Decomposition of the vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

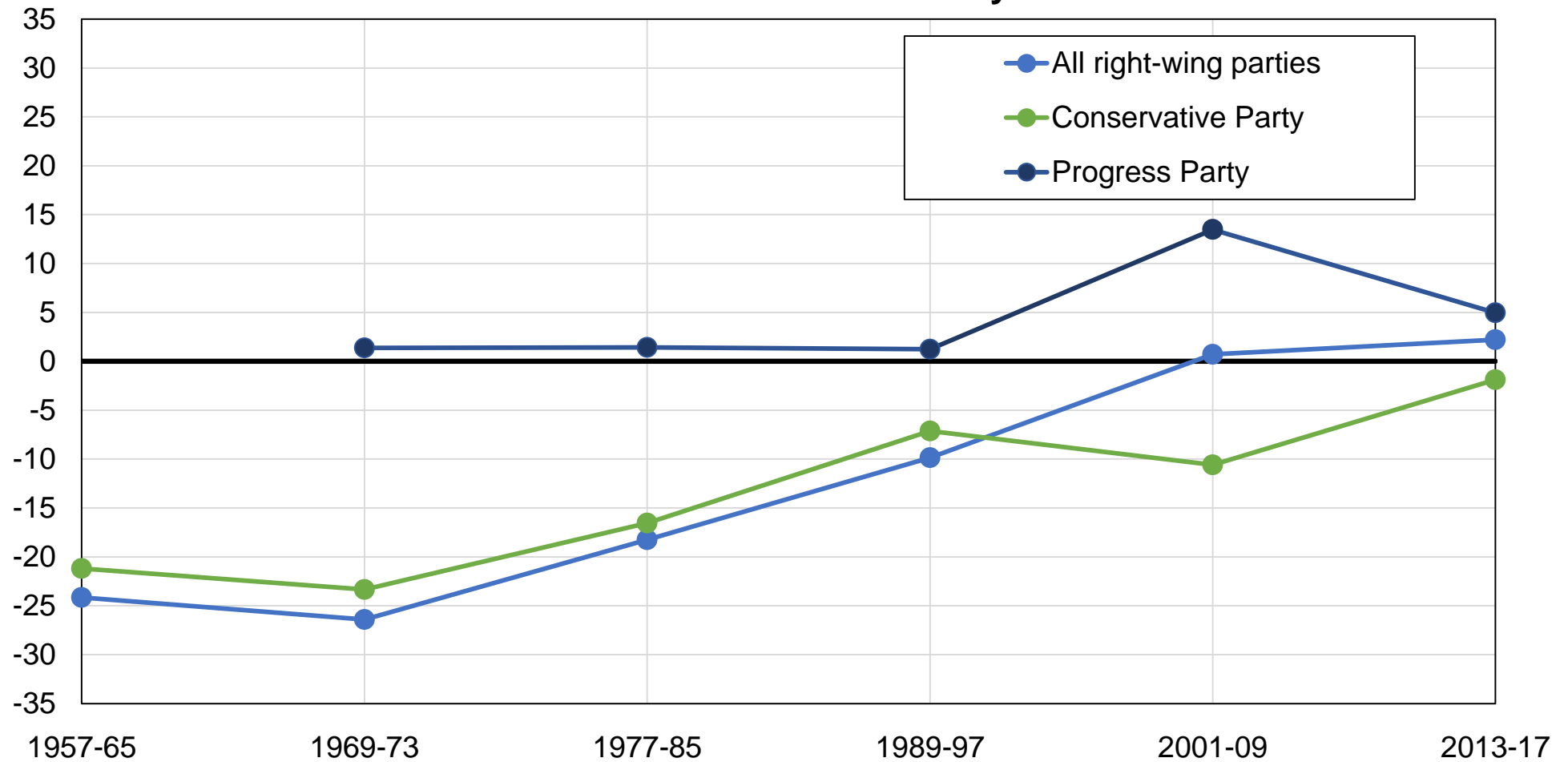
Figure AC28- Decomposition of the vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

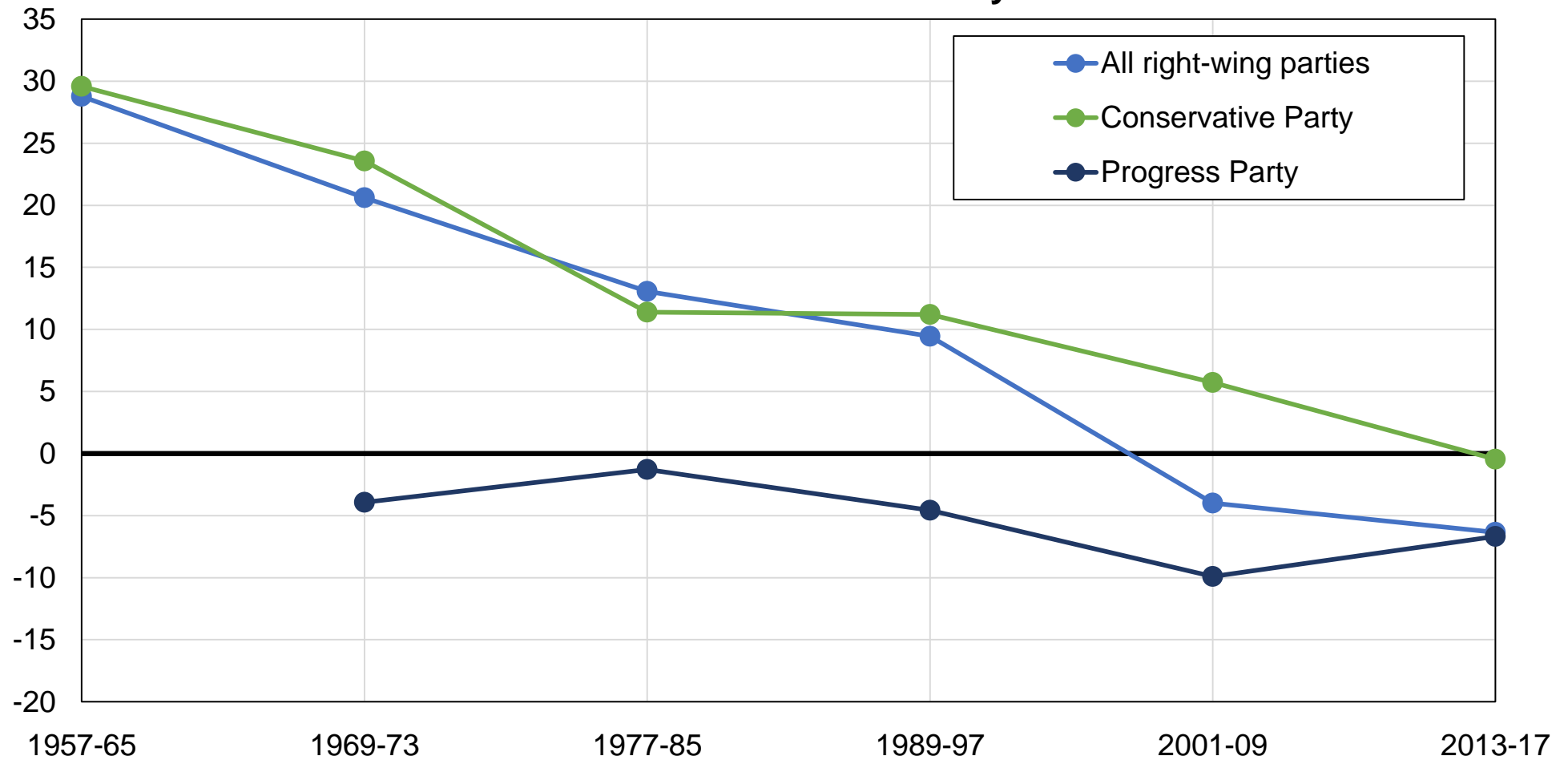
Figure AC29 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among primary-educated voters in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

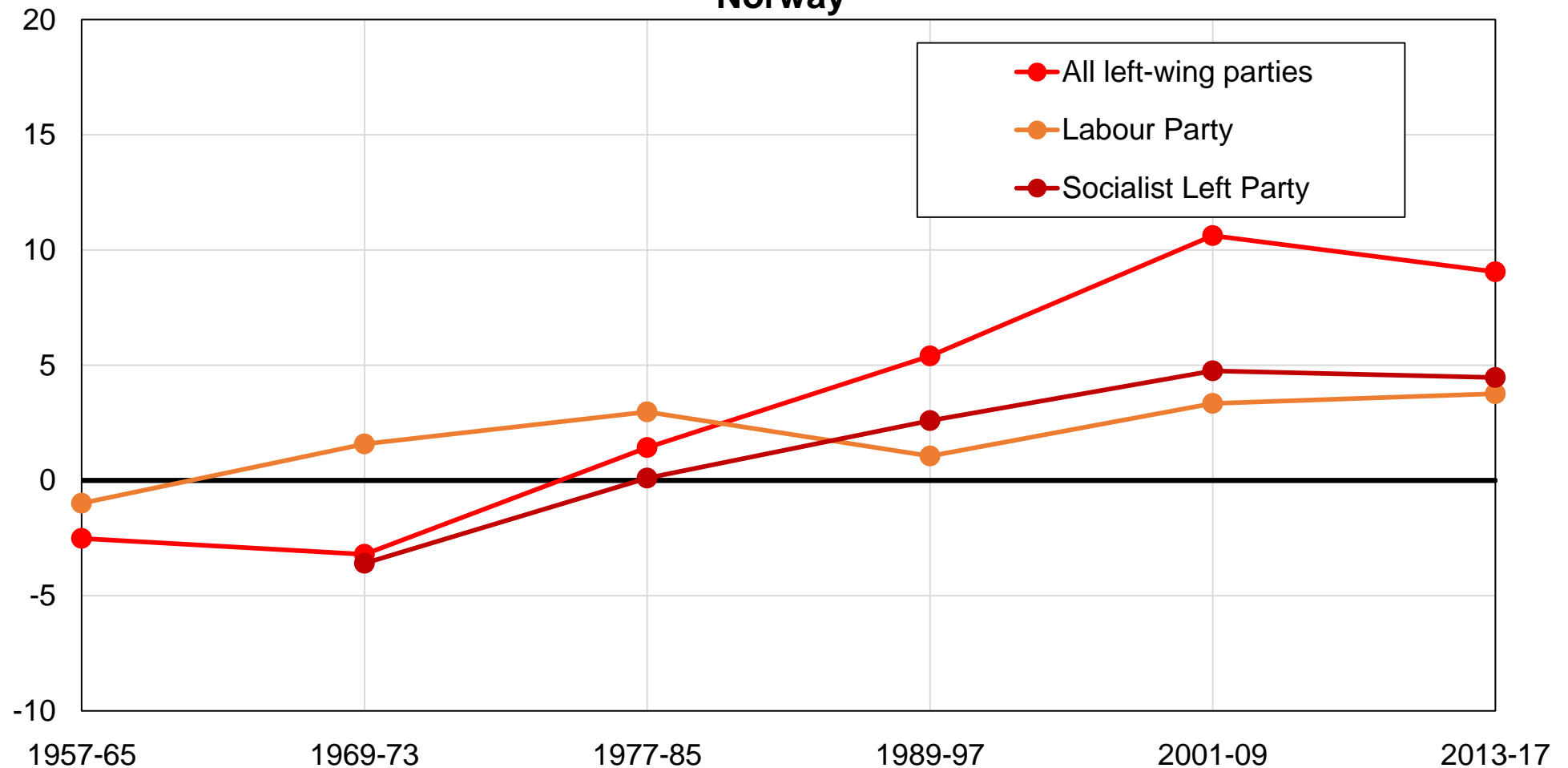
Figure AC30 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among tertiary-educated voters in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

Figure AC31 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Norway



Source: authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, education, age, marital status, region, religious practice, and sector.

Table AD1 - Survey data sources in Norway

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1957	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	1544
1965	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	1623
1969	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	1595
1973	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	2662
1977	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	1730
1981	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	1596
1985	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	2180
1989	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	2195
1993	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	2194
1997	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	2055
2001	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	2341
2005	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	2012
2009	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	1782
2013	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	1982
2017	Norwegian Election Study	NSD-Norwegian Centre for Research Data	1966

Source: authors' elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

Table AD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Norway

	1957-65	1969-73	1977-85	1989-97	2001-09	2013-17
Age: 20-39	36%	36%	45%	46%	38%	33%
Age: 40-59	43%	42%	33%	35%	40%	42%
Age: 60+	21%	22%	23%	20%	22%	24%
Subjective social class: Working class	63%	65%	55%	54%	44%	
Subjective social class: Middle/Upper/Other class	37%	35%	45%	46%	56%	
Education: Primary	77%	71%	60%	32%	28%	11%
Education: Secondary	16%	18%	35%	47%	39%	48%
Education: Tertiary	7%	11%	5%	21%	33%	42%
Employment status: Employed public	7%	11%	27%	26%	24%	25%
Employment status: Employed private	51%	48%	41%	41%	37%	35%
Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive	41%	41%	33%	33%	39%	40%
House ownership: Renting	42%	17%	31%			
House ownership: Owning	58%	83%	69%			
Marital status: Single	24%	24%	28%	30%	32%	34%
Marital status: Married / Partner	76%	76%	72%	70%	68%	66%
Region: East			14%	17%	20%	15%
Region: North			11%	11%	9%	11%
Region: South and Oslo			39%	35%	33%	39%
Region: Trondelag			10%	9%	9%	9%
Region: West			27%	27%	28%	26%
Religion: No religion	56%			15%		17%
Religion: Catholic	31%			0%		1%
Religion: Protestant	0%			82%		80%
Religion: Muslim	0%			0%		1%
Religion: Other	12%			3%		2%
Church attendance: Never	64%					36%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	9%					42%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	27%					22%
Rural / urban: Urban	46%	45%	70%	79%	68%	72%
Rural / urban: Rural	54%	55%	30%	21%	32%	28%
Sector: Private/Mixed	87%	81%	60%	61%	61%	58%
Sector: Public	13%	19%	40%	39%	39%	42%

Gender: Women	50%	48%	48%	48%	48%	50%
Gender: Men	50%	52%	52%	52%	52%	50%
Union membership: Not union member	63%	64%	55%	54%	52%	53%
Union membership: Union member	37%	36%	45%	46%	48%	47%

Source: authors' computations using Norwegian electoral surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.